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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2046

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HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL WORKS CRITICIZED BY ROMANIAN REVIEWER

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5-6, May-June 82 pp 759-760

[Review by Stelian Mindrut of the books "After the Dual Monarchy," by Andras Gergely and Zoltan Szasz, Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1978, 263 pp and "Happy Times. Hungary from 1900 to 1914," by László Merenyi, Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1978, 237 pp]

[Text] The current information explosion makes it urgently necessary to know and make an intensive study of certain specialized fields. The interest taken in the science of history is assuming huge proportions, as evidenced by the revealing statistics from the surveys made by publishing houses. The taste for the muse Clio is expressed and evidenced in various ways, the commonest one coming under the heading of popular history, appearing in the appropriate magazine or in a book of varied appeal and circulated in a large number of copies.

As an indication of and a desire to satisfy a certain taste and propensity, the principle of popular science discredits the familiar existing rigid standards because the historians are becoming convinced that institutionalized and over-specialized history does not satisfy the complaints of the enthusiasts for the past. Now they tend to reflect and study the current demand, which calls for pragmatic writing as contrasted with that set forth in the university halls or published in the subject journals.

Two courses are open to historical research committed to the dialogue with the public: (a) to yield to historical literature, journalism and the mass media or (b) to consider effective ways of regaining the previous respect and interest of the general public. The final option is taking the form of facilitating communication between the historian and the reader by means of popular history and thus building bridges to meet the requirements for historical reading that are set by the social evolution of the respective period.

We consider the initiative and achievement of Hungarian historical research interesting from the foregoing point of view, in the form of the publication of a number of historical monographs to suit the taste of the mass of readers including the two works we are reviewing.

The history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, its general socioeconomic evolution, the internal and external political climate, the existence and efforts of the subjugated nationalities to assert their right to a free and independent existence, as well as the state of cultural development up to the outbreak of World War I are competently treated by the authors in sections.*

The parts at the beginning of the Gergely-Szasz team's book follow the course of presenting the political activity that preceded and followed the Ausgleich, including analyses and deliberations pro and con, evaluating the usefulness or unsuitability of the enactment of 1867 favorably or unfavorably. Some Austrian and Hungarian personalities involved in drafting the compromise are reviewed, differing opinions and attitudes are expressed concerning the people and events involved, and the interior of the political parties and the social strata and classes of the time are explored, as well as the entire constitutional system. In a word, the zoom-lens inspection into the heart of the society of the time enables us to see the overall socioeconomic and political-cultural picture of the empire up to the threshold of the 20th century.

The discussion of the national and minorities problem in the new state organism begins by explaining the origin of hostility toward the established regime, and then the authors outline the official contradiction accentuated by eliminating the battle from political life, reducing it to the passive stage, and criticizing the law on minorities of 1868. Then they specifically examine the situation of the Transylvanian Romanians, including their "special" situation and the right to vote granted by the authorities (p 60). We are surprised by and think it necessary to point out and "correct" interpretations that do not conform to objective or scientific historiography, namely the treatment of the origin of the Romanian people in Transylvania, which is presented in a way contrary to the position of Romanian Marxist historiography (p 108). We feel that the idea conveyed about dividing the nations into historical and nonhistorical ones in direct reference to the finding of the existence or nonexistence of the national leading class, language and culture seriously impairs the character of truly impartial research (p 110).

Their analysis of foreign policy enables the Gergely-Szasz team to describe the monarchy engaged in the great powers' competition, but with a restricted political role and the task set by the balance and maintenance of the balance of the situation in Europe.

The period of liberal Hungarian rule between 1875 and 1890, the economic progress that was made, the capitalization of the social structure, the organization of the proletariat and the development of the socialist movement, corroborated in the study by the marked decline at the juncture of the 19th and 20th centuries and the increasingly acute differences between the two unequal partners, Austria and Hungary, are regarded by the authors as the apogee of the era, epitomizing the boundless hopes permitted by the dual structure. The phase described coincides with the activation of the Hungarian minorities' economic and political struggle and the redrafted Memorandum and is in accord with other events like the collaboration in 1895, the policy of the Banffy cabinet, and the theoretical efforts to solve the national problem in the first decade of the 20th century by charting the course of the analysis made according to the understanding of the reading public.

*See the studies in SZAZADOK 1, 1966 and 2, 1972 and TORTENEELMI SZEMLE 3, 1968 and 1-2, 1976.

The "peaceful interval" between 1900 and 1914 in the history of the conglomeration of peoples is particularized by L. Merenyi's efforts in the book cited in the title of this review. The author proposes and applies the method of research in parallel with a continuing dialogue, the political facts speaking on a two-fold level and emphasized by the corollary of expression of the external data.

In his analysis in the chapter on foreign policy the historian concludes that the struggle and competition and the necessity of maintaining and expanding the system of alliances vital to survival as a great power gave rise to the state of conflict in the first decade under consideration and consequently compelled the Monarchy to expand in one area, namely the Balkans. The customs war with Serbia, the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, the attitude toward Russia and the armed Balkan conflicts, as well as dependence upon the German expansionist policy are the guidelines in the external evolution summarized by the author in his discussion based on published and unpublished material. L. Merenyi concludes that internal life in Austria and Hungary deteriorated in this period because of problems related to the strained situation on the eve of the debacle, that is differences between governments and with the cabinets, dissension among the political parties, polemics between Vienna and Budapest concerning the interpretation of the dual system and the trend toward Hungary's banking, military and customs autonomy. The described phase culminated in Hungary in the defeat of the liberal government, the inauguration of the coalition between 1906 and 1910, the advance of the socialist movement, and the demands for the right to vote and democratic freedoms for the minorities. The cultural superstructure evolved in interdependence with the political factor, showing periods of achievement and decadence in concept and manifestation.

Discussion of the national problem takes up an important part of the treatment. The policy of forced Hungarianization is now recognized and criticized, intensification of the Serbian, Romanian and Slovakian national movements is brought out, as well as cooperation among their representatives in the Hungarian parliament and the plans for a theoretical solution of the problem from the point of view of a Franz Ferdinand or Oszkar Jaszi. The researcher dwells upon the Transylvanian Romanian national phenomenon, pointing out and confirming the natural trend toward self-determination, the continuous ties with Romania (p 152), the poet O. Goga's activity and the negotiations between 1910 and 1914 between Tisza and the representatives of the PNR /Romanian National Party/. We consider the effort to investigate the Austrian parliamentary discussions noteworthy, as well as the use of the speeches in the Viennese forum to demonstrate foreign support for the cause of the oppressed minorities in Hungary (p 91). We were unpleasantly surprised to find the statement hazarded about the lack of any distinction between the Hungarian people and their political leaders when the minorities' "antistate policy" is mentioned (p 154). The press in the languages of the subjugated peoples, the parliamentary discussions between 1906 and 1910, and the archival documents from the reserves of the Chairmanship of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of the Interior, studied with scientific acumen, flatly refute the author's unwarranted theory.

As we come to the chapter on conclusions, we are convinced that these works bespeak enthusiasm and diligence in making the recent past intelligible to the mass of lovers of history. The variety and richness of the illustrative material used are also noteworthy as important factors for visualizing the connections between the text, the period and the present.

ROLE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN INSURING LEGALITY OF MILITARY LAWS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian Jan-Mar 82 pp 69-74

[Article by Bardhyl Shehu: "The Control of the Public Prosecution in Regard to the Legal Aspect of Juridical Administrative Acts in the Armed Forces"; passages between slant lines printed in boldface]

[Text] The activity of the military organs and commands, just as the entire activity of our state apparatus, is a broad and comprehensive activity which serves the building of socialism and the further invigoration of the defense of the country. These organs and commands execute their functions and tasks on the basis of the law and for the implementation of the law, solving their problems in the light of the class struggle and by giving priority to the party policy.

The military organs and commands, relying on the principles of socialist law, as the important links of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and led by the party, accurately execute the juridical acts of the highest organs of the government and of the administration and enact a number of acts on the basis of the law and for the execution of the law.

On the basis of the importance of the implementation of socialist law with accuracy, the prosecutor's control over these organs in the issuance of administrative acts, assumes a great importance because it deals directly with the further invigoration of our people's government, with the proper functioning of our socialist state and of its apparatus, and with the strengthening of socialist law. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, in his analysis of the work of the juridical organs and of the Prosecutor's Office, among other things, said: "Our legislation has an emphasized class, political, ideological, educational, and administrative character. This character of our legislation must also be taken into consideration in the future in our work in regard to knowing, popularizing, interpreting, and executing the laws. No matter in contradiction with the law under the jurisdiction of these organs must be allowed to pass without being investigated and judged with wisdom, correctness, party-mindedness, and great competency."^{*}

^{*}Enver Hoxha, Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, Tirana, 1981, p 98-99.

Implementing these party recommendations and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the further invigoration of the prosecutor's control and its systematical execution on healthy bases help to eliminate violations of the law in the armed forces and serves the strengthening of military preparedness for the defense of the fatherland. As a result of the measures adopted by the party for the further revolutionization of the army, we have had a radical change in the execution of laws and in the issuance of juridical acts, just as in every other field. The correct stipulation of powers and of criteria for the issuance of administrative acts by the military organs and commands has, among other things, helped achieve this.

1. /The activity of the organs, commands and all other links in the armed forces is a commanding executive activity and, consequently, the acts, which they issue, are administrative acts and, as such, are objects of control by the public prosecutor./

Our people's army, as the main armed force of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has the duty, together with the entire armed people, to protect the dictatorship of the working class, the victories of socialism, and the interests of the people, and to guarantee the inviolability of the fatherland at any time and in any circumstance. Our people's army is implementing this duty, considering as a guiding compass the military line of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the requirements and recommendations of the Council of Defense and of the people's military art, the laws and decrees, and other acts issued by the highest organs of the government and of the state administration. The system of action and, in general, the entire activity in the armed forces is rigorously established in special acts with a normative character, issued on the basis of and for the execution of the law by these organs themselves; they are presented mainly in the forms of orders, instructions, and regulations. More expanded are the rules and commands which are executed more often, because of the very special nature of the activity of the armed forces. Thus, for every specialty and various services, and tasks for the kinds of arms down to the economic and financial services and tasks. The right to issue acts of this nature is assigned to minister of people's defense and, by his authorization, to the deputy ministers of the people's defense. The same regulation is monitored by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The commands of the military units and sections do not have the right to issue rules; they only issue orders and instructions which must always be in harmony with the powers stipulated by the Ministry of People's Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and approved by the commanding officer and the commissar of the military unit or section. The juridical acts enacted by the military organs and commands have, for the most part, a general character and, in certain cases, some of them have a concrete character which is connected with the objects which are addressed to them. Thus, the acts enacted in the form of regulations, orders or instructions by the minister of people's defense and the minister of internal affairs have, as a rule, a general character. However, there also are cases when the Ministry of People's Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs enact concrete acts which are compulsory for the commands of those military units and sections to whom they have been sent. As acts of a general character, we can mention the regulation on discipline, the regulation on "Internal Life" and others; while, as act of a concrete character, we can mention the acts or orders for the organization of a concrete military exercise and for a special or new regulation linked

with a garrison service, and so forth. The same thing can be said for the acts, mainly in the form of orders, issued by the commands of military units and sections for their subordinate commands of units or sections. From what has been said above, of a special importance for the prosecutor's control are the knowledge and classification of the acts enacted by the military organs and commands and the most correct determining of those juridical administrative acts which, according to the Constitution and the law "on the prosecutor's office," are objects of the prosecutor's control. After this is determined, in the prosecutor's work, it is important to see if the act enacted by the military organs, commands and other links contains the most important elements which the juridical administrative act should have, for example: a juridical character, the expression of the will of the government, issuance by the competent organs and a legal character. The other aspect which should be taken into consideration is whether the juridical administrative act is presented in the form of a decision, order, instruction and regulation. The clarification of these issues makes it possible for the prosecutor to make his decision between the acts in the form of an order, an instruction or a regulation enacted by the competent organ--which are objects of control--and the other acts which, although they have a juridical character, are not objects of this control such as, for example, the orders of transfer of soldiers, the regulation on entering military projects, and so forth.

2. /The limits of prosecutor's control over the juridical administrative acts in the armed forces./

Prosecutor's control in the armed forces cannot be extended to the entire activity and to all actions in the armed forces, just as it cannot be extended to the legal aspects in general and to administrative acts. This is, because, on the one hand, some purely technical matters concerning the military commands are not under the jurisdiction of prosecutor's control and, on the other hand, some actions and activities of the armed forces, reflected in appropriate acts, cannot be objects of control because of their own special nature. Thus, the following cannot be objects of control: acts of an operational character; the acts dealing with the movement and transfer of military forces, military vehicles and various military exercises; acts dealing with the construction, production and utilization of army materials and military technology; acts concerning the organization and management of the forces and means, the organization of the various services and the determining of criteria for the protection of and entry in military projects; and acts referring to the protection and utilization of technical reserves, ammunition, clothing, food and so forth. From this, it follows that in exercising his tasks, the prosecutor must take into consideration the assumption of the control over those juridical acts which are in the field of his control, for example, the acts issued by the MDP [Ministry of People's Defense] and the MPB [Ministry of Internal Affairs] in regard to the implementation of the law on the military service of the citizens, of the decree on the material responsibility of military men and directly in production, and of the decisions of the government on the norms for food and clothing, on machinery, on the administration of socialist property, on wages, "on protection from fire," on defense fortification works, on technical safety in the use of explosive and poisonous materials with very powerful effect, and on the issues of strengthening discipline, improving domestic life in the armed

forces, relations between cadres and masses, and so forth. Additional objects of control are the acts issued by the commands of military units and sections on the basis of and for the implementation of the acts enacted by the MMP and MPB. From what we said, it appears that not every act is an object of control by the prosecutor; and, in particular, acts of an operational character are exempt from control.

Therefore, during his control, the prosecutor must take into consideration the following: the nature of the act, its legal foundation and the purpose for its issuance; the juridical relationships which emerge, change or are ended by it; the operational nature of keeping military secrets; and the territorial or material jurisdiction of the prosecutor's office. Thus, the prosecutor of one district cannot control the acts issued by the military unit or section of another district; also, no control can be exerted from the prosecutor's offices of the districts over the central organs of the MMP and MPB. The Prosecutor General's Office exerts control over these organs. In regard to this issue, one must take into consideration that the district prosecutor's offices, in controlling administrative acts in military units and sections, along with the control of the acts issued by the units or sections of their districts, have the obligation, on the basis of their legal foundation, to examine the acts dispatched by the MMP and MPB in the form of order, instruction or regulation and, in regard to illegal aspects of these acts, they must forward their observations and suggestions to the Prosecutor General's Office.

3. /The method of control of juridical administrative acts by the prosecutor./

So that the prosecutor may exercise his control over the administrative acts issued by the organs and commands of military units and sections and so that he may see their legal foundation, further ideological, political and professional improvement is indispensable, as a basic condition for the expansion and thoroughness of this control. But, along with this ideological and political improvement, the prosecutor have a good knowledge of the legislation in force in the armed forces and the acts enacted by the MMP, the MPB, and the commands of military units and sections. And, so that he may know them, their study must be scheduled. Scheduling and operating in these cases and on these issues is an important part of the work method of the prosecutor; without this, the control of administrative acts in the armed forces cannot be carried out with success. Another important moment is the activation and utilization of all sources of information and on the basis of this, the organization of preliminary work such as: a) the draft of the control plan; b) the study and examination of the main legal provisions; c) the study of the organizational structure of the organ; ch) the meeting with the mass of soldiers, cadres and military specialists; d) the meeting with the people's prosecutors and military auxiliary judges; and so forth.

a. Prosecutor's control can be partial in those cases when it is organized on the basis of the verification of a complaint or of concrete information. Practice has shown many cases of this nature.

b. Prosecutor's control is an organized one when it is extended to all acts of one military organ, command, unit or section for definite periods of time. This

form of control is among the most essential and responds to the tasks entrusted to the organ of the prosecutor's office. The prosecutor must be careful during the control of the acts and must foresee the elimination of the consequences caused by the illegal act, working as quickly as possible to reinstate the law which has been violated.

4. /The means of reaction used by the prosecutor in regard to the illegality of administrative acts./

The prosecutor, in implementing his control functions, on the basis of and for the execution of his legal powers in regard to the violation of laws and their reinstatement, uses various means of reaction in which protest plays an important role. The prosecutor's control over administrative acts of a normative character issued by the MGP, MPB, and the commands of military units or sections, when these acts are in contradiction with the law or do not harmonize with the law, must not remain in the verification phase. In these cases, he must use the means of reaction, that is, the protest, which has its source in the Constitution itself and in the law "On the Prosecutor's Office."

The protest is different from the other means of reaction because of the very fact that it opposes the illegality of an act; while, the other means of reaction, such as the presentation, point out violations in the actual activity of the military organs and commands during the execution of the law. The protest is the means used only by the prosecutor and, as such, the law has invested it with a number of juridical consequences stemming from the relationships created, in these cases, between the prosecutor's office and the organ which has perpetrated the illegal act. Thus the obligation to examine the protest within a deadline is created, as well as the suspension of acts if the protest is not examined within the deadline. In the law "On the Prosecutor's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," in Article 20, it is stipulated that: "The protest is the act by the means of which the prosecutor requests the annulment or modification of illegal decisions and other illegal acts of the ministries and of other central and local organs, of enterprises, institutions, economic and social organizations, of organs of investigation, and of courts.... The ministries and other central and local organs, the enterprises, institutions, the economic and social organizations and military units are obliged to examine the protest of the prosecutor within 15 days from the date of its receipt. The failure to examine the protest within this deadline interrupts the execution of the act...."

In the actual work of prosecutor's offices, in general, the guidelines given in connection with the use of the means of reaction and, especially, of the protest, have been correctly understood and, according to the case, the annulment or modification of the acts have been asked when they have been illegal; also, people have demanded the reinstatement of the law which has been violated. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that our work, as an organ of the prosecutor's office, serves the strengthening of legality and the effective struggle against the violation of the laws, the elimination of violations of the law and their rapid verification become important. It is clear that the protest of acts on the part of the prosecutor is a right which has no limit in time; but, nevertheless, in order to serve and better implement party tasks,

it is necessary for the control to be better planned, activating and utilizing all sources of information in order to attack on time the illegality of a specific act or other violations of the law.

We must take into consideration the fact that, in protesting juridical administrative acts issued by the MMP and the MPB and which operate in all structures of the armed forces, the protest is carried out through the prosecutor general's office. Therefore, the district prosecutor's offices, on the basis of the controls exercised, when they observe illegality in the acts issued by the commands of military units or sections under their jurisdiction, they send their protests directly to these commands. The correct determination of the organ to whom the protest will be addressed has not only a formal or procedural importance, but it is the other important aspect which is connected with the juridical consequences of the protest. Also of importance is the legal documentation of the protest showing the illegality of the act and the consequences which have resulted or which can result from it. In the drafting of the protest, importance must be given to the request for the annulment, modification or abrogation of the act and to the assurance of a reply from the target to which it is directed.

In practice, one may ask the question whether oral commands, which, are numerous in the armed forces, are objects of protest or not? We think that in this case an oral command, although, it communicates or changes established relationships, cannot be an object of protest, as it does not satisfy all the conditions required for the juridical administrative act.

In this case, the prosecutor acts according to the general procedure for the control of violations of the law which have been observed, notifying the military organs and commands by means of presentations.

In regard to what we said, taking into consideration the importance of the legal aspect, especially, of the juridical administrative acts in the armed forces for the strengthening of socialist legality and the defense of the country, a greater involvement is demanded on the part of the workers and organs of the prosecutor's office to ensure the knowledge of legislation in the field of defense; there must also be better organized control and aid in order to prevent any act of juridical administrative illegality in the issuance and execution of the juridical administrative acts by the military organs and commands.

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FIFTH CONGRESS OF ARTISTS UNION HELD

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 pp 1-3

[Report on the Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists: "Balance of Actions and Responsibility"]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists was held on 29 and 30 June 1982 in Bulgariya Hall. This was not only a report on the significant and vivid organizational-artistic activities, which earned broad social recognition, but also a profound self-evaluation of the place, significance and responsibility of the contemporary Bulgarian artist. This is because today the social position of Bulgarian artists is stronger and more necessary than ever before. The attention paid to spiritual activities in Socialist Bulgaria and the emphatic respect and concern for artistic creativity, which are the foundations of our party's cultural policy, call for displaying greater exigency toward the ideological-aesthetic significance of creative results. The entire proceedings of the congress took place in the constructive atmosphere of these requirements.

The opening of the congress was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov and Lyubomir Pavlov, head of the BCP Central Committee culture department, members of the State Council, heads of creative associations, institutes and sociopolitical organizations, writers and journalists. The congress was opened by the oldest member of the board of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, People's Painter Academician Dechko Uzunov.

People's Painter Stoyan Sotirov, who chaired the first session, reported that the congress is also being attended by representatives of similar organizations and associations from Algeria, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, the FRG and Czechoslovakia.

The memories of Lyudmila Zhivkova and the workers in the plastic arts who have passed away since the last congress were honored with a 1-minute silence.

People's Painter Prof Svetlin Rusev presented the accountability report of the administrative council of the SBKh [Union of Bulgarian Artists] for the period from June 1979 to June 1982, entitled "Development of the April Line and the Plastic Arts" (the full text of the speech is published separately).

The work sessions of the congress continued with statements made by delegates, the presentation of greetings sent by creative organizations and institutes and the warm messages of guests from various parts of the world.

In his statement People's Painter Prof Velicho Minekov summed up the scale and pace of construction characterizing the development of contemporary urban building and architecture combined with the plastic arts. This faced the Bulgarian sculptors not only with major but also new ideological and aesthetic problems. Honored Artist Atanas Neykov spoke of the increased social prestige of the Bulgarian artist and the manifestation of his creative aspirations based on the laws of beauty. He called for the need to expand exhibits in the capital and to create repositories for works of art.

Honored Artist Ivan Radev discussed the increasing popularity of the contribution of the artist to the aesthetic values of objects and the environment. Nezabravka Ivanova recalled in her statement manifestations of the moral nature of the profession of the designer and its problems related to the production of material goods.

Atanas Stoykov noted the exceptionally great opportunities of operative criticism in encouraging certain artistic processes. Honored Artist Boycho Grigorev described a number of still unresolved problems of the material and technical base of the Union of Bulgarian Artists--workshops, rest homes and a club-restaurant--and the possibility of resolving them in the near future. Nadezhda Kuteva, chairman of the AMKh summed up her impressions of the creative exigent climate which has developed in the SBKh and the exceptional trust shown in the young creative workers in the area of protecting the best features of their talent.

Honored Artist Ivan Kirkov discussed the urgent need for a printed organ of the SDKh, which would reflect its overall activities in Sofia and throughout the country. He welcomed the sixth juryless exhibition of paintings, which opened recently at the Shipka Gallery and called for formulating regulations which would make it an annual event. He called for improving the selection of candidates for the Academy of Fine Arts and for formulating stricter criteria. Honored Artist Dimitur Arnaudov reminded us again in his statement of the increasing need for a new curriculum to be formulated by the Ministry of Public Education in teaching fine arts in secondary schools.

Honored Artist Dimitur Ostolich noted the pleasing fact of the increased popularity of contemporary Bulgarian graphic arts in a number of countries throughout the world and the possibility in publicizing in advance our events abroad. "Over the past 20 years Bulgarian graphic art has been experiencing a true renaissance," said Dimitur Avramov, who cited interesting facts of the past and present in the area of Bulgarian plastic arts.

Greetings to the congress were presented by Bulgarian creative associations, the Komsomol Central Committee and the Committee for Culture. Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, greeted the delegates on behalf of the Bulgarian armed forces. Vladimir Goryainov, secretary of the Union of Soviet Artists, presented the warm greetings of their Soviet colleagues.

The Bulgarian artists were also greeted by guests representing similar creative organizations in Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the FRG, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

An "appeal for peace to the artists the world over" was issued on behalf of the congress. A letter of greetings to the BCP Central Committee was adopted with lengthy applause.

In his final speech, People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev summed up the great results achieved during the past 3 years and pointed out that each specific manifestation of the Bulgarian artists proves them to be not only creative but active individuals whose dedication enhances the ideological and aesthetic value of the entire Bulgarian culture. "Our congress and our balance were the test of our friends in the eyes of the entire Bulgarian people," he added.

The congress concluded with the election of new leading organs.

A new administrative council and control commission were elected.

At its first meeting, the administrative council reelected People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Artists. Sekul Krumov and Dimitur Ostoich were elected first deputy chairmen; Kalina Taseva was elected responsible secretary; Khristo Neykov, Nayden Petkov, Velichko Minekov, Dimitur Mekhandzhiyski and Boris Gendov were elected deputy chairmen.

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CSO: 2200/125

BULGARIA

ARTISTS UNION ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL REPORTS TO CONGRESS

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 2 Jul 82 pp 1, 3-6

[Report submitted by People's Artist Prof Svetlin Rusev: "Development of the April Line and the Plastic Arts"]

[Text] A balance is a test.

A test is a position.

A position is an opportunity.

The Bulgarian artist is tested through his actions.

The position of the Bulgarian artist represents the content and the life of these actions.

The possibility of the Bulgarian artist is the path--the difficult renaissance path which allows him, as he draws the balance, not only to look at what has been created but to look far ahead, to the future in which today's creative truths will become a moral and spiritual light.

To us this balance has a more special meaning, for before becoming a balance of our actions it is a balance of our responsibilities.

Today we are privileged to speak about the history, the past and the future of our union as a part of the historical balance which is contained, on the one hand, in the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the country, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the party and the 25th anniversary of the April plenum and, on the other, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the first society of artists in Bulgaria and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the society of new artists and the union of societies in Bulgaria. However much we try to limit the time covered in our balance to a recent accountability period, we can never avoid the conscious and subconscious balance drawn by the Bulgarian artist, which begins with the spiritual accumulations of national history and ends with the efforts of the first pioneers who realized that even in one of the most individual types of human activity--art--the true spiritual contribution to the nation will not be an isolated project but a result of the joint efforts of all.

It seems to me that it is precisely today, on the basis of what we have already achieved and the requirements of what we must achieve, that we should see our balance not only as a result but mainly in terms of its historical dynamics.

Those who know how to read the language of the past and are able to live with the fate and trials of their fathers and grandfathers will always have a better understanding of what is happening today. Furthermore, they will always be able to see by looking into the future the meaning of our present efforts and trials.

Everything which our nation has achieved, and everything on which its pride is based, everything which the Bulgarian artist has experienced and achieved is particularly precious to us, for it includes a test--a test related to the historical fate of the nation and has a victorious path followed by the great personalities in Bulgaria, a test which is also the strict experience to be used in the future and a biography of the Bulgarian artist.

After each death and defeat life brought us a new birth, again and again...until, distracted and hurried in our daily life, we are stopped for one minute by the rendering sound of the siren on 2 June, to remember how precious is the tranquillity of waking up in the morning with maternal warmth and the fresh scent of warm bread, how numerous are the sad marches covered by the tribe together with those who wail for the heroes, and how much water has flowed in the rivers bearing the color of bloody sunsets until we could reach the freedom of the sunny smile of a child and the privilege of seeing today the accomplishments of artists as part of the dynamics of the nation.

If battles, victories and defeats have represented the dynamics of history in this balance and exploit, the hearts of the artists have participated in the creation of the spiritual life of the nation, registering like a cardiogram not only that which has been and is, but also that which was before the state was born and that which before being achieved has been understood by the heart.

Now, many, many years after the founding of the Bulgarian state, a time of building and destruction, of enemies and friends departing, leaving us behind, shouts and cries have clashed in the wounded soul of Bulgaria, presented by the icon painters not as the canons of the church but as the crucified truth of the people, with the woodcutters expressing the light which was taken away from the soldiers of Samuil as shining suns on the walls of houses in the Renaissance. The flickering flames of the preserved faith started the fires of the rebellious self-awareness.

Every true Bulgarian artist carries within himself these flames which turned nights into bloody days and made the mornings 'tch black.

Despite all of this the people endured. They broke the jails and the light spread in the life of the people. The icons came out of the churches and the monasteries and traveled around the world spreading the glory of Bulgaria with the true faith with which they had been endowed by the painters, filled with hope.

Noted specialists, scientists, museum workers and common people throughout the world could see in the sad eyes of a madonna the scorched Bulgarian earth; they could see through the red color the pain and suffering of slavery. Finally, they could relax in the face of this uniquely Bulgarian green color of spring and the rebel flags on which girls had embroidered the rebellious words "Liberty or Death."

Art has the power not only to preserve life forever but also to reawaken life at another time, in different spiritual and social dimensions.

That is why the dignity and beauty of the Boyana Desislava, the girls painted by Maystora and Dechko Uzunov, and the human truth as painted by Beshkov and Nenko Balkanski travel today like a free child throughout Bulgaria, as the contemporaries of all generations.

A truth painted by the believing soul of the artist remains a universal and permanent truth. It cannot die, because there is no death, there is no end and destruction for a Bulgarian song which has been painted with the colors of pain and hope.

Today the very fact that the artist has the opportunity or, to be more specific, has the freedom to become aware of the most beautiful period of these 1,300 Bulgarian years--the April spring of Bulgaria--is a victory not only for today and not only for us but for all those who were defeated in the past, for all those who perished in the pogroms, for all those who were crucified and burned in the name of the truth, for all those who went into the earth without being able to see the end, for all those who fell, who were insulted and hurt by history--the time of today, the time of self-awareness, which is also a time of victory and retribution.

In the same way in which the success of a painting can redeem endless and fruitless days, loneliness and pain in the studio, and in the way in which giving spirituality to a form justifies the endless efforts of going beyond matter, life today is a reward for the hard, difficult, worthy and victorious road which was covered. Along with everyone, today's descendants of the ancient sculptors, builders and icon painters, the Bulgarian socialist artists of all generations seek in the experience of the past the kind of lasting life when, many years into the future, when the people of today and of tomorrow are no longer there, something good, human, beautiful will be written, invented or sung, feeding the hungry, slaking the thirsty, encouraging the hesitant, awakening the sleeping and showing the way to the daring.

When the people of the future will recall the beginning, I trust that, looking at part of a canvas or a bit of marble, granite or bronze, these people will understand the spirit of today. They will see the people who hurry in the morning, the women who caress life with their eyes, the men who turned night into day in order to build palaces for the people, the children who, despite efforts and the education provided by the adults, remain children. Perhaps the feeling of spring of a canvas will retain forever the feeling of the April spring of Socialist Bulgaria which gave life to the future.

It is perhaps at this point, when we discuss our path and our celebrations, that we should think of the difficult and long road covered by the Bulgarian artist, from the dedication of the icon painters to the dignity and importance of the artist today. The purpose will not be to recall the history of Bulgarian plastic culture in general, because we are an inseparable part, an organic entity, of everything which has been and which is today Bulgarian art. This is because the new members to whom this congress is the first, these adolescents recently accepted into the union, will continue the work of those adolescents who painted the unemployed and hungry, who turned canvases into weapons, who burned with the spirit of their time and before reaching the years of creative maturity, attained the time of the lasting and unshakable classical verities.

This is because these same living classics of Bulgarian culture who are today among us as our colleagues are actually the patriarchs of Bulgarian plastic art culture, used as an example in educating not only artists but above all citizens.

This is because the young Bulgarian artists of tomorrow will be the sons and daughters of today, of today's young, who have reached the age of their art.

This is because the best lessons of today are the dedication, labor, and exploit of the artist--of those strange, lonely people with their sunken chests and feverish eyes, who had no canvas or paints, who took away the bread from their children to paint, who reached every single glimmer of light and truth with the wounded soul of human hope.

This is because the lessons of today were paid for with the stiff and exclusive price of suffering. All those who spend their lives with the truth of the artist are aware of this. Those before us who were crucified between faith in principles and the inner voice of trust in man were aware of this. We were aware of it ourselves, as we began, with the help of a trusting hand, which was more precious than anything else and which we must always be worthy of.

This is because the lessons of today have been paid for with the scarce currency of hope--the hope which visited the lonely Zhendov in his final days, when a simple human greeting was an act of courage; a hope which brought to us the art of these dedicated boys and girls to whom we refer today as classics and who never stopped being fighters; the hope that despite everything, sooner or later, light wins over darkness....

The ways which these lessons-examples followed were strange!

Surrounded by us, Maystora shared his thoughts of Nikola Petrov, Murkvichka and Mitov; later, Dechko Uzunov spoke of Petko Klisurov, Bacho Kol'ov and Stefan Ivanov. Those who were slightly older than us exposed us to the lessons of Nikolay Raynov and the national features of Ivan Lazarov; in turn, we described to those younger than us the academy as it existed then, when to be a professor meant to be a Beshkov, Dechko Uzunov, Marko Markov or Iliya Petrov, the time of the first youth exhibit, in which it was considered an act of courage to use red paint or to think like an artist.

We discovered the great generation of the 1930's after we had lived with the illusion that we were bringing something new and different. We realized that others before us had advanced even further ahead and knew as well as we did that in addition to everything else art is a position and that before speaking of mental associations or similar things, Kiril Petrov's canvases painted the rural rich as rulers of their villages and the way the peasants cared for their fields; before trying to introduce color as a youthful discovery we realized that Bencho Obreshkov and Vera Nedkova had given colors their harmonious power; before we could begin to seek the synthesis of form, Kiril Tsonev and Ivan Nenov had reached an understanding of its true manifestation and had adopted it as their own truth. Before we were able to distinguish between the stern truth of form and illustrativeness, Shmirgela's airplanes had passed not only the test of time but withstood a real bombardment, while Nenko Balkanski had turned the human warmth of the unemployed into a political stand....

Before we could understand the meaning of a stand, Stoyan Sotirov had already gone through the truth of art and reached truths the price of which was paid in the currency of jails and concentration camps, and Boris Angelushev, like Bruno Fuk, had turned his drawings into real weapons with which he fought Nazism every single day. Furthermore, at each such encounter we discovered new and previously unknown truths in long-familiar painters and works. Every meeting with Nikola Petrov involved us in the rediscovery of light. However familiar and popular Maystora seemed to us, he gave us new and unexpected sensations even through his most familiar works. For some strange reason we were attracted and awed by Iliya Petrov, while Beshkov was leading us into the infinity of the universe and returning us to his fellow countrymen, who had realized that the road to the stars begins here, on earth, between life and death, here, on this sinful earth on which everyone is doomed to seek the path to light through trials.

The reason for which today, as we look to the future, we go back to the accomplishments of yesterday and to the people who experienced the past as citizens and fighters, is mainly because of the need for the kind of spiritual hygiene which we receive from the past and mainly because of the meaning of today's balance we are drawing, for the sake of what we are today, what the artist is today.

However, we could hardly use standard measures, comparisons and examples in order to attain the importance of the artist to himself and to others today.

Nikola Petrov's sister described how a group of his colleagues went to visit the then minister of education to request, actually to beg for a small aid which would save the life of the greatest poet in the field of Bulgarian plastic arts.

Unfortunately, Nikola Petrov died with his eyes open to hope, as many before and after him had done. The accountability data which you received as referential material for our congress, relating the activities of the union during the past 30 years, shows that increased pensions, scholarships to young artists and aid granted would have been sufficient for the upkeep of an entire

painting school of Nikola Petrovs today. I am not engaging in easy comparisons but rather noting the tremendous change which has taken place in the social situation. In a sense, this is also a general change in terms of the possibilities of the social system and its attitude toward the life and work of creative workers.

However, the real change or, rather, the real conquest, is that today the artist is a socially necessary figure in building our culture in the way that construction workers build homes. From the fine arts, in their most elitist manifestation, to the democratic need for spatial shaping and design, and from advisor and friend of society to its representative in the solution of difficult and responsible matters of building a socialist society, the artist is needed and necessary.

Yes, the artist--the Bulgarian artist and the Union of Bulgarian Artists are needed and are necessary not only simply for the development of culture but in general in building developed socialism.

When we consider what has been achieved in the past 1,300 years and what is being achieved through reciprocal cooperation with the okrugs and through the overall participation of the union in social life, we must become clearly aware of the fact that before galleries and exhibition halls and workshops have been built, before the houses of the Union of Bulgarian Artists have been constructed, before these real holidays dedicated to Bulgarian artists throughout the country have been made possible, something far more important has been achieved. An attitude toward spiritual values, toward the gifts of the arts has been developed. This is not a question of the isolated attitude of one or two managers but of the overall position taken by our party and state and their view concerning the need for the life and work of the artists.

It is no accident that the strategy of our spiritual development was formulated on the highest party and state positions. It is no accident that the achievements and weaknesses and the tasks and problems of the Bulgarian artist were discussed from the highest rostrum of the party congress. That is why, as we discuss the present situation of the union, the status of the artist in terms of objective historical truth, we cannot ignore what was said at the 12th party congress, the stipulations contained in the party's documents or anything which represents the line and policy of the leadership of the party and the state in our country. In this case, the Union of Artists has not simply subordinated its activities to this line or to the essential quality of this line. We are part of it. We participate in its development and implementation. It is part of us, of our aspirations and efforts in the same way that the artist is part of his people--a privileged builder who has the right to speak in the language of art and to say important and essential things which apply not to one or two but to many people and, something equally important, to see the future with the power of a penetration which few possess but which is a part of the overall spiritual life of the nation.

In this sense, the balance drawn at the 12th congress is also a balance of the entire past of our union or, more precisely, of the victory of the principals of development thanks to which the party became not only stronger and healthier but morally and politically purer.

In accepting and approving in their totality the party's accountability report, the theses and the resolution of the 12th congress and the speech of the party's general secretary at the 14th Komsovol Congress as documents which contain and reflect the historical path and quality of the contemporary experience of our party, the Bulgarian artists see in the high assessment of the role of artistic culture and the requirement of enhancing the ideological-artistic level of creative manifestations their specific place and responsibility, based not on individual claims, which may sometimes appear tempting as a literary form, but by the April line, as a management for action, as a qualitative measure of civic, social-creative and purely human involvement. Anyone who has followed and is familiar with the development of Bulgarian plastic arts knows (and, it seems to me, we, the artists, should not forget it) that in no case was there ever a discussion of the warm and caressing springtime sun but of life as an effort and struggle, as an opportunity which is offered to us by our method and is guaranteed by the social system, but which must be mastered and deserved by us. Here again it was not a question of springtime pictures but of a dramatic thawing of the ice, a dramatic clash, of matters of historical meaning and significance as a battle and a victory of what is lasting, new and promising.

Our union and Bulgarian plastic arts reached an exceptional development, concentrated and many faceted like a problem, profound like our attitude toward life, which not even the greatest optimists could imagine.

During the past several congresses our union adopted the practice of submitting along with the main report dealing with the union's problems an accountability report which contains the entire range of activities of the union reflected through figures, concretized in terms of time and nature, ranging from the smallest individual exhibits to the major representative manifestations of the union.

Naturally, digital indicators cannot be typical of activities such as our. However, we are discussing the fact that 1,042 exhibits were held and 66,639 works created, and when our participation resulted in 151 international awards, when more than 600 people have participated in the work of the state commission and the union's juries, when 36,743 questions have been considered, when we think of the path which has been covered, represented by these strange mathematical signs expressing our human creative efforts, we may perhaps not only understand their hidden meaning and life as a synthesis of creative pains and joys but as an irreplaceable commensurability of the future, which in many cases acts as a real balance.

We have in front of us the three reports from the last three congresses. Whatever distinguishes them superficially, other than the color, is their size. The size of the report has doubled between the third and the fifth congresses, although at that time as well we reported the expansion and enrichment of our activities and justifiably spoke of an active and strong creative period. Nevertheless, a profound comparison would reveal that the difference is found not only in the size of the report and the figures but mainly in the quality content in terms of creative activities. Quantity has not simply converted into quality but into quality with far deeper spiritual values. Suffice us in

this respect to imagine the development of the problems of general art exhibits or changes in the quality of monument work to realize that it is actually a question not of an artistic sum total but of the spiritual volume of art.

However, one way or another, that which has been achieved is no longer our exclusive experience but the experience of Bulgarian culture, and even if we are not able to advertise it properly as a domestic item, no one can take it away from us for the simple reason that it has become an organic part of our gains and achievements and of the development of the overall April climate. In this case something else is more essential!

I do not know whether artists at any given time or anywhere else have had so many true friends and admirers, in the literal meaning of the word, as in Bulgaria. This is a friendship which was born, created and made possible only in an April atmosphere, in which the builder is also a bridge and an artist, and the artist is a builder and a teacher.

It is somewhat embarrassing to consider ourselves as making a contribution, like those who are responsible every day for the development of an entire nation. However, since there are so many familiar faces of construction workers, managers and common people with whom we are linked, to a greater or lesser extent, through common daily problems and tasks, I am tempted by the noble idea that we are part of them and that they are part of us--of our concerns, our hopes and our emotions.

If there is anything which is unquestionably part of the activities of the union and which, regardless of all possible stipulations will remain part of it, it is the democratization of artistic life in a strong and vivid manner. This is possible only in an atmosphere of reciprocal tolerance, reciprocal need and understanding of the social and spiritual mission of the artist.

A couple of years ago, together with construction workers and managers, we opened in Razgrad a big general art exhibit. The artists' workshops and the union's house were a gift of the public. Not so long ago Khaskovo was experiencing the holiday atmosphere of a similar event and we were discussing with the people of Sliven the future of design exhibits. Together with the Turgovishte leadership we were concerned with the difficulties which the hard winter had caused in terms of completing the new exhibition hall which was awaiting works dedicated to the children, while today, together with them, we are enjoying the results. Together with the people of Plodiv we organized an exhibit to promote the aesthetic appearance of the urban environment. Together with the people of Gabrovo we organized the exhibit "Man and Labor," which depicted the image of our contemporaries. The Ruse leaders overcame their reluctance and turned into workshops one of the most beautiful buildings in the city, while the people of Smolyan built an entire palace to house our paintings. With its open-air exhibit "White Birches" Ardino has laid the beginning of a painting gallery. Together with the Tolbukhin leadership we recently discussed the reorganization of the party house into a future one-of-a-kind gallery. Together with the people of Yambol we are turning the okrug into a center of the applied arts; with the people Varna we have undertaken preparations for the new graphic biennale; with the Shumen leaders we have

discussed the difficulties existing within the group of artists, while discussions with Pleven have dealt with organizing an open-air gallery of sculptures. We recently signed a contract with the people of Silistra. The union's creative fund has been literally acting as a construction worker in projects born of such reciprocal efforts, and so on, and so forth. This list may not be infinite but covers a tremendous amount of reciprocal activity with all okrugs, and it is only by enumerating the activities which we organized jointly that we can understand that it is a question not merely of a democratization of the process but of something else of equal importance: we have broadened the geographic spread of the union in such a way that today the spiritual territory of the Bulgarian artist covers the entire Bulgarian land, and the Bulgarian people are the owner of this spiritual territory.

We consider this aspect of our activities not only as something needed and necessary in order to gain an overall understanding of and to implement the national program for aesthetic education but mainly as the basic line in the union's strategy in the implementation of the party's call "More Among the People and Closer to Life."

Here again, to the honor of not only the Bulgarian artist but Bulgarian culture, we have traditions which give us grounds to seek the origins of such activities in the apostolic mission of the artists of the Renaissance, the popular spirit of Maystora and the civic stance held by the new artists and the entire progressive generation of the 1930's.

It is no accident that we ascribe such great importance to the anniversary of the New Artists and to their exhibition. Actually, we celebrate through them the entire progressive spirit of the Bulgarian plastic arts and their high political and civic emotion.

The great Bulgarian artists have always been close to that tradition which was the "live water" in the development of Bulgarian culture.

Maystora developed his bright works among nature and the Shishkovtsi peasants. Kiril Petrov developed his strange national world side by side with his fellow peasants, working at the farm. Zlatyu Boyadzhiev created from life in Brezovo a universe of strange and unexpected visions. Vasil Barakov had the same feeling for the land that the portrait painters had in building a human character, while Stoyan Venev and Funev were as though bits of our native chernozem.

That is why the Bulgarian artists did not find it difficult to go to the front with the soldiers of the First Bulgarian army, to be among the first in the first youth projects and brigades, and to be among the first who came out on the streets with their art after the 9 September victory.

We owe a very great deal to the okrugs, perhaps we are more indebted to them than to anyone else as far as the feeling of the artist that he is needed by his people is concerned.

That is why we infinitely cherish the love of these people who gave us what is most precious and valuable to an artist--their trust.

From this rostrum I would like to thank simply on behalf of all the Bulgarian artists the people who together with us toured workshops, set up the paintings, built galleries, calmed down our passions, these "socialist patrons" whom we consider coauthors of our works in the true meaning of the term.

From the okrug managements to the Central Committee, without any stipulations, we have never had such a real understanding of our problems as part of the overall line followed by our party. At the same time, we have never participated in the implementation of this line as specifically as though it were our own concern and destiny.

Let me tell you at this point that as we followed the April line we enjoyed the total support and trust of the general secretary of our party, from the start, from the first days of the April plenum and the first long meetings held by the union of artists, in which we sought our lost faith and to yesterday, to today, to our current efforts as a creative organization and a union.

In the Central Committee accountability report which comrade T. Zhivkov submitted to the 12th congress, we find the thought that "...the socialist creator is the free poet of his time...."

I do not know whether we can truly imagine today in terms of a culture and a creative process such a valuable freedom and the long path and great efforts which were needed to attain it and the historical period in which we live, in which the free will of the creator is a qualitative characteristic, a characteristic of the time in which he lives. In practice, this means that only he who belongs to his own time, who loves and knows it, can be a free poet, only he who builds it before becoming its poet. In other words, more specifically, he who feels responsible before becoming privileged.

The solution of the problem of creative freedom and free will, so frequently proclaimed in the West, but actually so heavily dependent on commercial, political, economic and other circumstances, cannot be our model despite the glossy advertising in which it is packaged. What is the worth of "freedom" of the creative worker in a society when the society itself is not sociopolitically free?

The idea of freedom in the eyes of the Bulgarian artist includes a high and responsible mission which is too great to allow him to have such freedom outside the party's sociopolitical tasks. It is a historical gain above all of the social and political system, before becoming a creative possession of the individual.

We know where and what the artist was in the past and the great heroism which the great authors of the past needed to be able to protect their art, and the sacrifices and unrealized and buried talents which marked their path.

That is why at such a time we cannot fail to ask ourselves where we were, where we are and where we should be.

Yes, where we should be!

We know more or less what is happening around the world, and let us see any one of these so-called highly civilized countries boast that in no more than 3 months and armed only with love could it build a gallery such as those in Turgovishte or Veliko Turnovo, and that without any organization dozens of thousands of viewers may come (like pilgrims) to see our works. Some of our "concerned friends" who worry about the "freedom of the creative worker" and his "independence" from the socialist system should see the tears of emotion in the eyes of the painters as they heard the excited words of thanks of leaders and common people....

Let some Western art dealers or, more accurately, dealers in painters, see at least once the way the sponsors of galleries hasten to purchase the best exhibits and the way the gallery owners jealously follow them, taking off price labels and replacing them with labels marked "sold" to their own galleries, to realize that there is hardly another country in which the artist is so autonomous and independent and needed as here.

We realize what this means and that it is precisely this freedom that represents our independence!

Yes, the Bulgarian artist is dependent! He is dependent above all on the pain and suffering, the joy and victories of his people. We have accepted this dependence as our historical privilege and are unwilling to trade it on the "free" art market.

Some may find this ideological-topic attachment of the Bulgarian artist hard to explain. Others cannot imagine how, with such a "dependence," the artist has been able to preserve his strength, sincerity and uniqueness.

To the Bulgarian artist this is the natural path crossed by all the greatest names, a path along which today's young have produced their most powerful works.

Yes, the Bulgarian artist is dependent on the love and recognition of the people who brought flowers to our works. This dependence gives him the pride and dignity of his work.

Yes, we are dependent on these people who now are no longer with us--the supporters of the partisans, the old, the women, the children whom we see in yellowed photographs and in the memories and the pain of their relatives and friends....Yes, we are dependent and there is hardly a stronger and more ennobling freedom than this dependence, than the knowledge of and love for the thorny road covered by our national history.

Actually, in addition to everything else which it gave to our art in terms of artistic problems, the democratization of our activities became a true school of patriotic upbringing, naturally without lectures and reports, strong, for it benefited from the lessons of life and struggle.

The Bulgarian Artists Union has gained a unique experience in this area, an experience which is still waiting to be studied. But whatever we may say

Regarding contemporary topics, whatever we may write, the artist carries within himself the real contemporary period as part of his own emotions. Regardless of whether he paints a hero of socialist labor or a landscape, the contemporary topic is above all a matter of attitude and only then of subject and plastic preference.

We also realize that a general art exhibit can contribute a great deal to our culture and that it can turn from a major creative fact into ordinary information regarding major and fateful events and personalities, depending on the path followed by the creator--the search for a generalizing and lasting artistic meaning of a given event and personality, a description of the actions of the characters or a duplication of photographs and other documents which are far more expressive in their original form.

Luckily, the Bulgarian artists lived with the exploit of the Chavdar partisans, the 9 September victory, the sorrow of the women in mourning, with everything which the guerrilla movement in Bulgaria represented, with the rest between battles, the young people who died like heroes, the helpers, who combined the wisdom of age with the youth of the spirit, with the rich opportunities of socialist times, with the name and cost of the hero of Leipzig, with everything which turns the life of the artist into his life stance.

The Bulgarian artists sought in the life of the living, in the traces left by time, in the characters who were once young people, some of them almost children, the lasting truths of the human character, which are found not only today, not only as an expression or condition of a person, but as a quality of human spirituality. More precisely, our aspiration was to reach as artists and as socialist authors the truths which converted the life and destinies of the people into legends and ballads, into a symbol and measure of purity and dedication.

The wealth and variety of contemporary Bulgarian plastic arts is a fact to which we seem to have become accustomed by inertia, the way one becomes accustomed to ordinary daily things, whereas in fact it is a question of things which represent the great yardstick of art. Were we to apply this criterion to our exhibits, we would see that they bring to us not only a large number of different works but also earmark new directions and that each new direction contains new opportunities.

Perhaps the charge, the high emotional and patriotic charge of such exhibits is indicative of the true origins of the creative variety and wealth--a variety which, before turning into a wealth of professional-creative styles, is a wealth of human experience, of the exploits, difficulties and victories of man. In this sense as well a civic and political truth as seen with the heart of the artists becomes a truth of art--a universal truth. Such is our understanding of contemporary topics as a way, a stance and a realization.

However, this truth had its own specific and unique historical dimensions as represented by what our union achieved on the occasion of the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary. At this point we are discussing features which make

our people a nation--achievements and results which are the pride of the contemporary possibilities of developed socialism. It is not merely a question of powerful architectural and sculptural ensembles, the great decorative-monumental works, the spatial museums or the exhibits on the occasion of the anniversary, but the high and previously unknown level of spiritual flames which supported the creative workers during their most difficult and severe trials. This was not merely a case of the National Palace of Culture, Buzludzha Peak, Ilchov Bair in Shumen, Tolbukhin, Kotel or Pernik; as a rule, everywhere, from the studio to the construction site, wherever high accomplishments were pursued, the Bulgarian artists and our union faced severe tests of the overall spiritual, moral-aesthetic and material possibilities of the Union of Bulgarian Artists.

It would be no exaggeration to say that we ourselves were suprised at our own endurance and at the incredible results considering the pitiful material and technical facilities of the union.

If we are looking today for the Bulgarian artist, we find him everywhere, from that peak which marked the founding of the party, where tempests and thunder met, reminding us of the beginning and the difficult road to victory, from the firmly embedded sword of the first Bulgarian ruler, which neither the years of suffering nor violence or pogroms were able to shake loose, from the inspired spiraling flight from the past through the present and the future, to the numerous general, group and individual exhibits, to the daily participation of the artist in the building of developed socialism; from the trademark to the published book, from stage-setting to design, from the operative participation of the young critics to the profound and mature study of our art--in everything and everywhere wherever the light of a spiritual presence was required, the practice and theory of our union staked its own territory.

The dimensions of a real balance, should it become necessary, do not obey the criteria used to determine fixed values. How can we measure the energy with which hundreds of artists participated in the creation of the National Palace of Culture? What yardstick can we apply to the sleepless nights which created the lasting light of the great creative results and, something equally important, how can we determine the pure Renaissance thrusts of the Bulgarian artist?!

Once created, a monument, a painting, a tapestry and even a book such as "The History of Bulgaria," live the life of the nation and become part of it, part of us, of everything which, following strange roads, takes over the spirituality of the people.

In celebrating the 1,300th anniversary, we lived with the history of the nation, we experienced its own experience and its upsurge and fall, its difficulties and its victories.

The Union of Artists made an exceptional contribution to the proper celebration of the anniversary but gained even more in terms of creative and national self-confidence. The experience we acquired offers a base for value assessments which are necessary in terms of our long-range development.

Today we still lack the historical distance which would enable us to encompass entirely and in its dynamics the accomplishments of the Bulgarian plastic arts. On the one hand, true spiritual values are not created once and for all but increase on a lasting and steady basis, for time works in favor of their assertion and enhancement as the spiritual gain of the nation. On the other, the 1,300th anniversary extends and, in terms of the Bulgarian artist, in many respects marks merely the beginning, both specifically and symbolically. Many works are yet to be completed, and the ideas which the completed ones bring with themselves acquire new feelings and thoughts which, in practical terms, means new truths related to dynamics and development.

But whatever stipulation we may formulate, that which the Bulgarian artist has created as part of our contemporary culture is so great and unique not only as a monument to the possibilities of the nation but mainly as an achievement of contemporary spiritual culture, that even considered on the basis of quantity alone it would be difficult to comprehend. And if conclusions are necessary, perhaps one of the basic ones would be that the 1,300th anniversary has mobilized, along with the possibilities of the nation, those of the union and its creative stock, turning from an anniversary of the state to a responsibility and task of every true artist.

The 1,300th anniversary is an occasion for drawing a most important conclusion regarding the speed of development, the tremendous leap which was made by our culture during the period of its April development and, in a certain sense, to assess the true results of a historically unique Bulgarian creative climate, which liberated the creative workers spiritually and naturally raised them to the level of high civic and social responsibilities.

In this sense, the evaluation of what was created by our plastic arts on this occasion also necessarily become an assessment of the tremendous possibilities offered by the development of the April line.

Whatever preparations we made for the anniversary and however hard we worked to celebrate it properly, Bulgarian culture would have been unable to reach the level of freedom, strength, width and depth of manifestation without the spiritual rebirth given to us by the April atmosphere. Furthermore, it would have been unable to reach the roots of our national traditions so deeply and creatively.

Unquestionably, the accomplishments of the artists during that period opened new opportunities and new paths to national and individual self-awareness and, in the final account, opened new doors to the infinite and unreachable human spirituality.

It is perhaps in this sense that one of the most important results in terms of our contemporary development is this door which was opened to us toward the future as a result of the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary.

At the same time, we must not only realistically assess our achievements but also determine their extent and the power with which they reach everyone.

The large number of artistic facts which were "triggered" one way or another by the anniversary celebration needs a comprehensive and profound analysis.

Whereas some facts must be considered with a historical perspective, others have already become part of the way of life of our contemporaries. Whereas some facts need a spiritual age and maturity before they can be accepted, others influence all of us spontaneously. The adoption of a single approach in our practical work would not only equalize manifestations of different levels of importance but would essentially bring about a neglect or rejection of the historical accomplishments of our culture.

Within a relatively short time a large percentage of our people became exposed to many accomplishments of contemporary plastic arts in all their manifestations. However, we should not nurture the illusion that the path to the high achievements of the 1,300th anniversary stops the moment we glance at or acquire an initial information on an event.

In one way or another, time works in favor of the great truths achieved by Bulgarian culture. This is not a question of underestimating the possibility of the people to perceive but of the fact that each new work imposes its own viewpoint and asserts its unique principle of influence. This is an unquestionable mandatory law which applies to any real and original creative work.

Along with everything which we have achieved, we should openly consider some essential weaknesses of our participation in the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary.

First among them were the overloading of the creative cadres, the lack of time during which to reach mature decisions and, therefore, the insufficiently convincing completion of some projects, which brought about conflicting interpretations and explanations. In this respect, the conclusions must be uncompromising if we are seriously concerned with the future of Bulgarian culture.

Secondly, in a number of cases the exceptionally weak and coarse and substandard technical execution lowered the overall ideological-aesthetic impact. Despite the true heroism of our creative stock, in practical terms not everything depended on it and on the authors.

Thirdly, the insufficient clarification of the ideological assignments which were issued in advance greatly delayed and complicated the completion of the works in several cases.

It is obvious that the synthesis must be full and integral so that there would be no discrepancy between what comes out on paper and what is actually accomplished.

Finally, we ourselves, as authors, as commissions or as councils, should base our reviews both on our own self-exigency and in terms of the formulation of stricter and loftier criteria less affected by our personal interests.

In terms of the overall activities of the Union of Bulgarian Artists and particularly in its work on the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary, the State

Commission carried out an exceptionally responsible and serious activity, which involved some of the most prestigious and powerful representatives of the union.

The commission members were called upon to display a great deal of moral, aesthetic and civic firmness in order to depict the achievements of our culture, surrounded by a huge sea of problems and tasks.

As one of the most active and meaningful manifestations of the socio-governmental principle, the State Commission can boast of a rich past, which enables us to assess its activities in some aspects as a contribution to the development of our culture.

However, some manifestations of the State Commission revealed major weaknesses which may prove to have severe consequences for the authors within our union and the prestige of Bulgarian artists.

Regardless of the time span it covers, the measure of any balance is its content of creative and human accomplishments or, more precisely, it is they that are the true yardstick of time: actions are the only criteria on the basis of which we determine whether a balance is positive or negative. In this sense again, not because we want it or because we must include it in a report, but because the facts, the content of accomplishments of all the units in the union in recent years, give us grounds to march ahead. This means that we have a base, that we have conquered new creative territories.

On the other hand, a movement has a meaning when it goes forward and upward, when it has a clearly realized objective and direction. The implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress and, particularly, the new tasks which it formulated in the spiritual area in terms of the social effectiveness of culture and the conditions governing its development and the raising of its ideological and artistic standards, the application of the class-party criterion and the new economic approach in accordance with the specifics of culture, and the further establishment of culture as one of the basic factors in the development of the integral and complete member of the socialist society, along with the decisions and conclusions of the Third Congress of Culture and the Fourth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, all of this, as an objective and a direction, have largely determined the development and will continue to determine to an even greater extent our requirements concerning past and future achievements....

Bearing in mind the intensive socioeconomic and political development of the country, that which was considered to be very good yesterday is only good today and will be insufficient tomorrow. This applies even more to art than to the other areas. Nowhere else is stagnation or inertia more sinister and dangerous in terms of development than in the spiritual area, for here it is a question of the dynamics and development of man--of the most delicate features of his spirituality--which develop, preserve and protect the human features in man.

When we look at this aspect of our activities, it seems to me that we should begin with the simplest facts--the dedication, energy, stress and creative enthusiasm with which we work, regardless of whether we engage in ordinary daily activities or "lofty" creative representations. If every one of us could "report" to himself on the number of hours which he worked yesterday or today, the effort and stress he invested, the extent of his emotional experience, whether or not the holding of an ordinary job has not replaced the unusual emotion which accompanies the creation of durable accomplishments and whether or not a lost working day or hour has not turned into lost months or years affecting the speed of our development, such a report might not turn out to be to our liking. Obviously, it is a question of the power and quality of the spiritual energy which we invest in our work, from socioadministrative management to most artistic creative activities.

If we are to progress, before discussing the major problems and tasks, we should begin with that which we can tear off as a living part of our own body in order to feed our spiritual creative thrust.

This is a question of quality, not only the quality of execution, not only high-level professionalism, which are mandatory for anyone engaged in our craft, but of the quality of perception, sensitivity, spiritual nobility, inner purity and light within the creative worker, which is necessary in creative accomplishments as the supreme qualitative measure of development.

Trite though it may sound, the plastic arts demand the complete giving of oneself. This is possible only to those who have something to give from themselves, such as a unique human spirituality, regardless of the formal plastic style, regardless of whether or not it applies to a delicate feeling for nature in a landscape, the manifestation of as yet unmastered talent or the total classical plasticity of Vaska Emanuilova and Mara Georgieva.

We do not underestimate everything else which is being done in terms of the organization and management of union activities, the more so since we have spent a great deal of time in pursuit of similar illusions. Whatever the case, this entire complex mechanism is in motion, leading to the creation of a complete socially and spiritually self-aware individual through the influence of art.

The processes of our development are of such a nature and characteristic as to give us grounds for conclusions, on the one hand, and in general the possibilities of the social system and, on the other, on the development of the basic characteristics of the principles of party-mindedness in the plastic arts.

Today it is not possible to measure developments in terms of the concept of party-mindedness in general and to apply systems which have been rejected by life in order to promote the live principles on which class-party criteria are based. We cannot search for a random approach to the explanation or interpretation of one phenomenon or another without being familiar with its nature and specifics. We cannot adopt the approach to a work of literature in our search and interpretation of the silent synthetic language of a plastic work

of art or seek in the captivating still lives of Boris Ivanov the political sharpness of Zhendov's drawings.

Furthermore, we must take into consideration in the various types of plastic arts, in the different genres and even in the individual authors within a specific genre and in the way they are perceived and impart their meaning the specific characteristics of a plastic style and the uniqueness of an artistic creation. Any preliminary restriction will lead our culture away from spiritual life and deprive it of the strong and unique authors and accomplishments.

We must clearly realize that the future of our homeland, Comrade Zhivkov stated at the 12th congress, depends on the multiplication of the individual qualities in man and on his continuing self-advancement as a citizen, worker and creator.

Such "self-advancement" is more mandatory than anything else in the case of the creators of spiritual values.

Art is a substance inseparable from the spirituality of the author. Its true manifestation is the inner beauty and morality which the author brings to the public. Unless we follow this path we would eliminate and reject entire sectors which are not graphic (such as applied art and design) as well as authors whose themes are not part of our understanding of the social functions of art.

A theme, a subject may inspire and stimulate a creative workers as easily as ideological involvement may be discredited by an artist who has remained alien to its moral content. This applies to history, the revolutionary past and the revolutionary struggles as well as the requirements of our socialist age.

It seems to me that the time has come to assess the social substance of achievements not only on the basis of what they depict and how they depict it but on the basis of the difficult and unreachable but true content of art which turns it into a weapon of high moral value. In practical terms, this does mean to separate the inner spirituality from its external formal manifestation but to seek their legitimate organic integrity as a spiritual manifestation of human life.

For a long time we have been paying dues to one prejudice or another, whether formally plastic or ideologically topical. If at any given moment or in resolving any given problem we ascribe a certain position and significance to a direct suggestion and to social thinking, we would obviously be deeply shaken not by those who shout loudly and clearly but by those who say important and essential things, even though expressed through no more than a hint.

The plastic arts have their structural laws and unique inner logic and unless we saturate this inner structure with profound and pure thoughts and emotions from the positions of a class affiliation, it would be hardly possible for their external manifestation in terms of form and topic to yield something beyond a beautiful facade, regardless of the colors--domestic or imported--which we have used to decorate it.

In the opposite case, if we were to transfer our domestic interrelationships, passions and prejudices and past and present encrustations to a work of art, we would threaten to put into it destructive forces which are equal to the power and strength of the artist's talent.

It was no accident, to the best of my recollection, that Beshkov had said that a caricature is not drawn with hatred but with love and pain....

It is self-evident that activities such as ours can be fully materialized spiritually through the maximal presence of society in the course of which, using its entire power and force of influence, it reaches and shakes up a larger number of people.

This can be achieved when all the efforts of creative workers, managers and the entire public are focused on the preservation and development of the creative climate as a dialogue between reciprocal feelings.

Those who have not worked in the field of spiritual culture may be the only ones unaware of how frail some accomplishments may be, what great efforts and sacrifices and sleepless nights they require, and how easy it is to lose the unreachable trust which gives wings to the creative worker, which stimulates development, which creates a mutuality between the creator and the people and which, in the final account, creates the spiritual truths of our time.

An author develops when he is aware of what he has achieved and what he has not. Such an awareness is a self-assessment which nothing can replace--even the best criticism and the greatest concern and attention. At this point we face the basic problem of individual creative responsibility, individual creative risk and daring which enables us to attain the real self-confidence which is the result as much of character and talent as it is of the atmosphere and the climate, which are able to withstand any creative surprise, ranging from great success to natural difficulties and failures in the creative process.

The Bulgarian plastic arts are sufficiently powerful and strong not to fear and consideration or discussion of the natural weaknesses of the process. This is the nature of its strength, self-confidence and future.

In our activities successes and results have marched side by side with weaknesses and shortcomings. The more we advance the more mandatorily necessary it becomes to see what we have failed to achieve.

On the one hand, we suffer from serious weaknesses in the overall mastery of possibilities and the ideological-aesthetic evaluation of the entire creative process; on the other, we suffer from the inertia of increasingly swimming with the current, without giving, without investing sufficiently from ourselves or, more precisely, using to an increasing extent the advantages of the climate not in order to ennoble it but in order to promote our own "embellishment." More specifically stated, we do not always maintain a balance among the obligations based on what we have achieved--a balance between privileges and responsibilities. In the third place, something should have been put first, our durable and basic contribution to development is that which create as artists--

its unique ideological-aesthetic quality, power and suggestion. Faced with a white sheet of paper, a canvas, clay or stone, every single one of us becomes a general and a private. Every single one of us is a manager and performer. Whereas with greater or lesser justification responsibility for the general weaknesses in our work may be blamed on individuals, when it is a question of what comes out of our own "personal creative enterprise of the spirit"—everything which has been discussed in a number of party documents issued in recent years and in the statements of Comrade T. Zhivkov, our party's general secretary, ranging from irresponsibility, indifference, carelessness, lack of self-criticism and moral deformation—to verbiage, phrasemongering, dulled ideological and aesthetic exigency and loss of historical perspective—all of this, whether we like it or not, once it has taken place causes open or hidden harm to what we do, ranging from basic mandatory features such as the quality of form to the fine spiritual energies which define the nature of the content.

A technological system can be amended. One missing commodity or another may be produced. Its quality may be improved or developed. However, that which every single one of us does, that which determines the life span of a painting, if I or if my colleague or any colleague is not worthy of it, there would be no mercy or sparing, regardless of whether or not he is a leader in the union or a rank and file member. If not today, tomorrow or somewhat later, the price will have to be paid. But the saddest thing is that the results no longer affect us alone but anyone who is seeking a way and support through the life of the arts.

On the other hand, concern for separating the "wheat from the chaff," excluding the major sieve of our general artistic exhibitions, seems to consist in most cases of providing most general information, which is not always accurate and which sometimes deals with specific events which promote not only our union but our culture in general. I am not specifically referring merely to the role of the critics but to our overall no less responsible participation in the process and above all in the management of the union. However, it is not a disinformation on the complexity and the scale of processes which is sad and dangerous but the fact that we accept, we become indignant and we wait for someone else to begin to put things in order. I have the feeling that sometimes we become a very irresponsible audience while our criteria, efforts and accomplishments are being mistreated. And whereas the older and middle generations find it more difficult to believe in what has been "written and said," I am not entirely convinced that the younger generations have become properly oriented. I do not know what the price of ignoring facts is and what price our art pays for subjective arbitrariness in the evaluations, regardless of whether they are concealed behind ideological firmness and infallibility or snobbish aristocracy or else it assumes most innocent forms, when the subject becomes generally unclear. It was no accident that at the 14th Komsomol Congress Comrade T. Zhivkov again said that "there is no censorship in our country," but that "the party is performing its leading role in directing the artistic and creative process mainly through the leading cadres--party and non-party members--in the creative unions themselves."

Naturally, time interferes and corrects matters. However, that which the climate and the atmosphere bring with themselves and contain, that which they

can give in terms of incentive and hope, that which is possible today, no longer comes tomorrow, and that which we consider an achievement today may not be returned to our culture, even under better conditions. We have paid rather stiff dues and given many spiritual casualties to the past to enjoy the luxury of passing up such opportunities today as contemporary "production."

Some of the most serious problems and weaknesses of the Union of Bulgarian Artists are the results of the achievements themselves and to a great extent are also the causes of unresolved problems.

What do we mean by this?

First. A substantial percentage of union members, mainly those whose possibilities are lesser, continue to consider the unification of the organization not only on the basis of a broad, creative and principle-minded basis but rather on the basis of a subjective qualitative equalization and simplistic understanding of the democratic principle as a "creative equality," manifested in all subsequent possible social creative moral and material degrees of incentive.

However, such trends become particularly twisted in a suitable environment and circumstances allowing their manifestation. In this sense, a large percentage of the efforts and activities of the leadership are used not on creating opportunities for the most talented members but for preserving the conditions and possibilities of the climate.

Second. The broadening of artistic life in the directions of new, different and as yet largely unmastered creative forms has greatly hindered the organization of overall activities as a process, a set of problems and a means of evaluation.

In many respects the organizational-administrative structure was unable to master the scope and complexity of manifestations on the one hand. On the other, that which is being done and which has been accomplished has not been able to find through its entire ideological and aesthetic complexity a suitable place, role and significance in order to turn development into a contribution and an example.

Eventually, all of this could lead to a loss of permanent criteria and guidelines and to the depreciation of some major features at the expense of secondary peripheral phenomena and to a shifting of values, both current and historical.

As though it were the "national rule," usually added to all of this is the inability to complete projects and, therefore, to make full use of the opportunities they offer for ideological-aesthetic suggestions.

Frequently a big exhibit comes and goes in terms of a spiritual accomplishment almost in terms of inauguration, purchases and closing ceremonies. Yet exhibits such as "Land of Botev" and "Kyustendil Spring," or perhaps even a combination of both, could hardly be considered such a spiritual realization.

Third. The growth of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, which has assumed a permanent and needed position in the spiritual life of Socialist Bulgaria, together with the prestige earned by the Bulgarian artist, converted the union within a very short time from a creative organization into a powerful association which participates in the solution of important and responsible governmental and state problems, as a result of which the artist was given not only greater responsibilities but greater social privileges, which were an overall test not only of the creative but the civic and moral qualities and merits of the artist. Here again we are still faced with the need to prove matters ranging from our ideological and aesthetic criteria to civic behavior and responsibility.

Fourth. The new tasks and activities created by life, related to the overall aesthetic development of the way of life, problems of spatial development, design and synthesis required a new type of organizational-creative and administrative structures which were able to develop complex interrelationships within an integral and complete activity, ranging from the creative idea to its materialization in life. Experience proves that most of what the union has achieved has taken a great deal of strength and energy needed to surmount inertia, which ended unsuccessfully in most cases.

Fifth. The great opportunities offered by the social and governmental system and everything which was achieved in the area of cultural management and in creating opportunities for creative activities faced the creative worker with important governmental responsibilities and no less important creative problems regarding the state. In this respect we are as yet to undertake not simply a reciprocal "reeducation" but a development of a maximally functional creative system of interrelationships between the two principles, which will guarantee an even longer life and greater successes of the system itself.

We can draw on a great example in this area.

Anyone more or less familiar with cultural processes knows the extent to which the development of the sociostate principle was the overall April climate and the extent of the personal creative contribution, dedication and efforts of Lyudmila Zhivkova. Her involvement and participation in the management of our culture was short in time but strong in terms of development, self-discipline and mainly realized ideas of cooperation among people. We would be wrong to enumerate these features, for it is not a question of the things which she ideologically inspired, thus making them part of the experience of the Bulgarian nation and culture, but because each one of these broad programs and implementations brought with it a large number of both visible and intangible changes and suggestions which were both the causes and consequences of a development the basis and final objective of which was man himself, his self-knowledge and self-advancement.

With her death Bulgarian culture lost one of those enthusiastically inspired builders to whom building represented essentially action, motion and development.

However, in terms of a loss, perhaps the loss suffered by the Union of Bulgarian Artists was particularly painful and substantial. Lyudmila Zhivkova not only loved the plastic arts but lived with their hidden meaning and life as a manifestation and realization of spiritual self-advancement.

We shall always miss the assertive presence of this viewer and friend, who moved through the exhibition halls, stopped in front of one or another work, touched plastic forms and paintings as though they were treasures, and marched on, together with the artists, along this difficult and unknown road.

Problems of spiritual development have always been complex and difficult. However, if we add to them the development and realization of the young, the complexity and difficulty are compounded, while the risks and surprises become natural. In this respect youth shows the least tolerance for tranquillity and the warmth of comfort and inertia.

No one knows better than the artist that a painting and an author are not created verbally. However, that which a frank conversation can create cannot always be changed by practical work, such as the pain and happiness which temper the character, which trigger doubts or strengthen the faith and, in the final account, which are the companions of lonely birth pains in the studio. An author who can engage in a frank conversation with himself can always hope to find open roads for his development. Conversely, any arrogant critical scorn of the work or of an author not only blocks opportunities for a dialogue but eliminates practical opportunities for development.

In this sense I do not know what is more important to the young today--a discussion on the merits and shortcomings of their works or thoughts on the path and efforts, on the price of the creative freedom in which the young author can paint or build his creative house without side considerations or fear of the sermonizing of the self-proclaimed guardians of ideological and aesthetic purity who shake their finger as the wind blows merely for the sake of being in step with "the time." Unfortunately and fortunately, time in art has nothing in common with the meteorological changes of one set of circumstances or another. This was confirmed by creative practice, which strengthened the lasting spiritual truths and refuted everything which pretended to be socially significant but which actually possessed nothing of what was needed in social development.

A realistic view of relations and possibilities within our Bulgarian culture shows that the latest youth exhibit and mainly the overall participation of young people in artistic life is an indication that Bulgarian culture has gained yet another union of artists which can resolve the major problems of its time independently and responsibly. This determines our requirements and responsibilities, which are to protect development and dynamics in such exhibits not only for the sake of the individual author but above all for the sake of our culture. Culture is nothing without concern and without the help which every talented creative worker must receive.

The youth exhibit was strong because of its intimate warmth and refined plastic style and artistic and reciprocal tolerance among authors (which can only benefit our art). I would like to see this tolerance in the exhibit become the quality of the authors themselves, however substantial internal efforts and sacrifices this may cost them.

Whether we discuss or do not discuss a given phenomenon, time will establish the validity of one principle or another and the authors will have the opportunity to prove and defend themselves or else to fail. However, I think that what the young author needs we could provide as of now--faith, trust and real trials, trials demanded by a strong talent, trials created by the stricter social requirements, trials related to the great civic and creative responsibility and reciprocity and trust in the friend, the colleague, the supporter, trials of tolerance and above readiness for the trials which are brought by praise, recognition or rejection.

Everyone has the right to his preferences, opinions and requirements. However, that which the young Bulgarian artists need--I would say what the future of our art needs--is the historical and creative memory of the development of Bulgarian culture. On the one hand, this is the natural continuity of a social and creative path, the lessons of which were paid for in the past with the exceptionally high price of our overall development and, on the other, the reinterpretation of this path as the personal and collective civic and creative responsibility for the present and the future.

Today the young face not an environment which rejects them or a jury which does not accept them but a jury which thinks about every one of them with a feeling of concern and responsibility. They do not face the rejection experienced by the past generations. Today the young are backed by the entire sociopolitical system with all possible incentives and help in their development. The only thing which the young must struggle against is mainly themselves, their own weaknesses and shortcomings. I do not know which is more difficult--a barrier which faces us or a barrier carried within oneself, within one's own self-exactingness as a criterion and a requirement.

It seems to me that the second task demands and requires something much greater and more difficult to achieve--self-advancement through the discovery and mastery of individual possibilities not through rejection but through creativity and human self-intensification. It is a question of the fact that the young have introduced a great deal of intimate feelings, warmth and mainly a very logical attitude which ranges from the simplicity of a synthetic plastic idea to journalistic frankness, from complex ties of action in terms of space and time to the direct expression of emotion and execution. In simpler terms, the young enriched our art with new authors, and every author brings his own unique truths and new directions to be followed by Bulgarian art. Here again, any mention of a specific line is essentially a rejection of another, and these lines, in their entirety, offer us the real picture of the processes under way.

Nevertheless, those who well remember our development and who struggled, suffered and fought for the free dialogue we have today know how fragile some things can be in the life of the artist and how much concern, trust and force are needed to preserve a creative tolerance and an atmosphere in which demand, criticism and aspiration to achieve greater results become part of the quality of the climate itself. It seems to me that we have reasons to make use of the quality of this atmosphere and to face the young people with a number of definite requirements, ranging from a more convincing view of the plastic structure to its uniquely personal defense or, in other words, in many cases we must

surmount the adoption of an approximation which affects the overall approach and implementation. On the other hand, without depriving them of their internal harmony, it seems to me that a more open and comprehensive view of the rich opportunities offered by the study of life in its true reality can enrich the individual emotions of the young artist and, hence, intangibly individualize even further the artist's plastic style. We could enumerate a great variety of justifiable requirements concerning the lack of refined information, nonexperienced influences in sculpture, graphics, paintings, tapestries, and so on, and so forth. However, this is not what we are discussing. What we are discussing is the difficult path which the young author must cross from the exhibition gallery to the workshop, where the learned lessons he receives from older and younger critics and colleagues will be part of the both tangible and intangible atmosphere which, more than anything else, creates art.

It seems that it was only yesterday, although it was more than 20 years ago, when we walked around the gallery on 1 Gurko in a state of worried anticipation familiar only to those who have ever waited for the decision of a jury. We toured the hall with apprehension as we awaited the decision of the jury judging the first youth exhibit.

We listened to rumors and collected most conflicting information as to whose paintings had been accepted, who was told what, who defended whom, etc.

The members of the jury became more likeable, more intelligent and more talented according to the extent to which they had liked our own works; conversely, they became regressives, malicious, incompetent, and so on, if their thoughts did not coincide with ours.

Many things changed in the overall climate of Bulgarian culture between the first and the most recent youth exhibit.

Our party's April line asserted itself in spiritual life as well as an organic requirement for its development and the type of changes which even the most enthusiastic pioneers could hardly expect took place in the life of the Union of Bulgarian Artists.

Fortunately, at that time we had the faith and trust of those who had taken us to the path of art at the expense of their own suffering. If I may say so, to us, to our generation, this faith with which Stoyan Sotirov, the then chairman of the union, together with his colleagues in the management, with whom he toured the country at that time in search of the future of our art, to us this faith was as precious as the April breath which renovated our entire life.

All of us remember those people, tired from the road and from heated battles and sessions, as they raised the spirit and faith in the future of socialist artistic truths.

The students of Dechko Uzunov, Marko Markov, Funev, Iliya Petrov and Beshkov remember their strange pedagogy which consisted mostly of an anticipation of faith in our youth, whereas on our part there was an almost mystical veneration of what they could do and what they knew.

I recall these things not because they are precious memories but because today, taking into consideration the activities and the problems of the young, actually we find ourselves in the position which was held by our teachers and the people who gave us a hand. That, perhaps, is what makes natural the question of whether we are ready to assume this responsibility.

Not so long ago, before the opening of the last youth exhibit, we had the opportunity to view another exhibit, most of which consisted of works created by young people under the difficult circumstances of a reality in which there were no youth exhibits, commissions, congresses and conferences for the young, but trials and firing squads. This was a new exhibit not because of the name of the society but mainly because of the topics treated, new not only at that time but forever.

The exhibit faced us with several inevitable questions.

Why is it that not by inertia but on the basis of facts we keep returning to the lasting truths of a tradition--to values, authors and works which are unshakable in terms of their national spirituality. Actually, we go back to another youth--literally in terms of chronology and symbolic in terms of the example of its art--a youth which lived under conditions which were not simply difficult but hard, a reality which was not sympathetic but cruel. Is the time coincidence with an exceptionally talented generation accidental or are there other reasons which we must consider in a slightly more sober and open manner?

It is not elsewhere or differently but precisely now, when it is clear that the discussion about the young is taking place not for its own sake but for the sake of the future of our spirituality, not at another time but now, it seems to me, that the dialogue with the young must be conducted above all in terms of a strict and merciless monologue with ourselves.

The dialogue in this hall becomes meaningful if it is conducted not in general in terms of age but in terms of youth, in terms of its strength and creative capacity which are developed and achieved only through vitality.

All good recommendations, assessments and statements which we abundantly issue to the youth in terms of their role and place--what they should be, what they should do, and so on and so forth--should perhaps be addressed first of all to ourselves.

The future of the Bulgarian plastic arts lies in the works of the young. We must be grateful for their participation in the artistic process not only because of their high quality but because they proved that the distance covered from the first youth exhibit, with all its trials, peaks and falls, to the present was worth of the efforts of all of those who lived sincerely and purely (which means who suffered) with the life of the Bulgarian socialist culture.

The latest youth exhibit is both a trial and an opportunity for all. I would like to think that whatever storms and winds may blow through the Bulgarian plastic arts, the future will bring us a great victory in this joyous awakening--the art of the young.

The strength and vitality of a position are determined in terms of its durability in time and the depth and greatness of the ideas it carries. Or, more accurately, it is precisely they which determine its development and significance in time.

In this sense, both the triennial exhibit of realistic paintings and the competition among young painters as well as the great international exhibit on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the biannual exhibit in Gabrovo, the international symposium in Burgas and the open-air exhibits have asserted themselves not simply as a firm tradition but as a necessary international territory in which human meaningfulness and lasting artistic problems found their "promised land."

Regardless of how these manifestations will be evaluated, on the one hand, in all cases they have contained the major and profound basic problems facing the planet; on the other, these problems were artistically represented in a new way in a national characteristic and the individual uniqueness of works and authors who consider the possibilities of realism not only in terms of stylistic characteristics but mainly in terms of the worthiness of a position and the quality of the language with which people communicate.

During the time in which the struggle for the salvation of mankind is more topical than ever before, the spiritual content of such activities is, in a certain sense, as much artistic as it is civic in terms of a position, a path, a salvation for the bright and pure aspirations which have accompanied mankind during all historical tempests, in its steady progress forward and upward.

The triannual exhibit of realistic paintings is living and developing with the great and high human aspirations which raised the red flag on 9 May not only as a symbol of the victory over fascism but as the salvation of everything which was most beautiful and which makes human the people on this planet.

It was on the basis of this position, which was a road to mankind, that the Bulgarian plastic arts circumvented the planet, asserting the principles of our socialist humanism.

Never before have we had such rich and varied international activities and so many international distinctions (151). Without speculating on the number of distinctions, the very fact that Bulgarian artists and works have not been ignored is indicative of the level of our participation. If we are to discuss it realistically, this entire international activity broadened the geography of Bulgarian culture and proved that small Bulgaria is creating an art of which any highly civilized country can be proud, an art which is sought the way the thirsty await the salutary breath of air.

For reasons which I find strange, our press is not in the habit of publishing references regarding our artistic manifestations abroad. It is also as though we ourselves consider in a slightly philosophical way the transitory side of positive references and praise. In this case, however, what is important to us is not the individual award or individual positive reference but the overall prestige and authority of our art. We see its power most clearly when Bulgarian representatives participate in major and influential international events.

Regardless of the principles on the basis of which we participated in the tri-annual exhibition (in the past our section was represented by a large number of authors compared with this year), our representation has always been very strong. Furthermore, it was not in the least a matter of indifference to us when the entire international jury unquestionably singled out the Bulgarian section as being among the strongest. Not others but we had to decline some suggestions made by the jury of presenting a greater number of awards to Bulgarian works.

Today the works of Bulgarian artists represent our native culture throughout the world, ranging from Latin America to the Scandinavian countries, from India and Africa to Western Europe, and from the land of the soviet to all socialist countries. Had we been slightly better organized in gathering information on our participation, it would have been as thick as several volumes of "War and Peace" over the past 3 years alone.

They speak in faraway Canada of a level of universal significance reached by our art. I quote: "The creative worker in Bulgaria enjoys great prestige and actively participates in the country's political, economic and social life;" "the creative worker in a Western society plays virtually no role other than his own."

In India: "Superb collection--high-level imagination."

In Peru: "This exhibit is a lesson in technique, precision and the qualities of sensitivity...."

In Belgium: "We think of the art of socialist realism in terms of cliches."

Last year, I personally was able to hear steadily in the course of a Bulgarian exhibit held in Italy and France the words which later Dario Micacci used as a title in his article in UNITA in describing the exhibit: "Bulgarian Paintings--A Discovery."

One of our young colleagues from Munich, enthusiastically returning to his homeland from the open-air exhibit in Turgovishta, wrote a long article which ended as follows: "This is an invitation which in all likelihood the Union of Artists in the FRG would be unable to reciprocate."

Nevertheless, some references regarding our art are understandably particularly precious to us. On the occasion of our exhibit during the days of Bulgarian culture, SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA wrote under the title "National Fate:" "To us all of this is understandable, very understandable, for the fate of the people, the people's characters as depicted by the Bulgarian artists are also our own fates and characters."

It would be hard to define more accurately a historical reciprocity which is indicative of the best features of the relationship between the Union of Bulgarian Artists and the Union of Soviet Artists.

However, regardless of how extensive and rich our international activities are, their basic feature is cooperation with the Union of Artists in the Soviet Union and the unions of artists in the fraternal socialist countries.

Today, when there is hardly a spiritual area such as the plastic arts which, for the sake of its independence, has been so thoroughly destroyed and deprived of meaning, everything--from the imitation of the art to the absurdity of a real destruction--was tried, described and advertised in accordance with the financial possibilities of the "business." In this apocalypse of destruction, the fraternal shoulder of our colleagues has supported us and given us faith during those truly difficult days for every creative worker, when he is faced with the beginning or the end of a new work, when he is full of doubt and seeks support in the light of his hope; it is not a matter of indifference to us that elsewhere, in a fraternal country, our friends and colleagues are seeking their way in those lasting and hard-to-attain verities with which the people's destinies live as a salvation not only of art but of everything that is bright and beautiful which has helped mankind to withstand the trials of time.

Comrades:

Eventually there comes an end to every congress. Every one of us will take with himself everything which this encounter has given him in terms of thoughts and emotions.

However solemn a balance may be, and however true and great the reasons are to turn it into a holiday for anyone who knows how many efforts and hopes, and how much high-quality human energy, have turned into illusions, and how deeply one has to dig in order to reach the small creative truth of hope, and to everyone who knows the price of this acquisition at a time when the trumpeters are proclaiming victory, we should perhaps recall mainly the troops--the hard days and nights turned into day, the bright windows in the emptiness of the darkness, the morning of waking which has blended the artist's night and day and the scandalized neighbors. Perhaps we should recall the many works, canvases and drawings which were created and destroyed, restarted and rejected once again, bloody from the effort and the pain, again and again showing this unreachable striving toward the peak which can never be reached, and the defeat which, together with the pain, has also brought the truth of man's light.

This difficult trip which brings with itself a great deal of transforming light to the people and far more suffering to those who aspire to reach the peak, this day represents perhaps more than a balance for those who create the art but also for those who live with it as though at home, for those who, together with us, together with you, together with the efforts of the entire union, seek a way to the lasting truths of life.

Regardless of what we discuss today or tomorrow, works and creative accomplishments are the features which speak for us and for this mutuality which goes through the heart of the creative, through a social manifestation which reaches the soul of the people as a movement and a development and which in the final account gives back to the artist his creative wounds and joys interpreted through art as the life and meaning of the people's destiny.

Having filled the universe with our silence, facing one another as a model and an artist, as an audience and a work, as a builder and a poet, we are closer to each other, always together in the trials of the spirit, in the space of the mind which has given us form and color; furthermore, we are also together in the gray daily life, in punishments and rewards meted out by destiny like a road leading to the festivals of the spirit, festivals in which day and night separate darkness from light, seeking the meaning of that fine strip of dawn which carries with itself the hopes and trials of the new day, the fine strip of light which, actually, may be precisely what this balance is....

But a balance which brings light can already be considered a victory....

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR RELATIONS WITH CAPITALIST EUROPE EXPLORED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1982 pp 3-12

[Article by Tamas Kocsis, editor in chief of NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN - DAILY NEWS: "The German Democratic Republic and Capitalist Europe"]

[Text] Over and above the findings and agreements concerning bilateral relations, the meeting that took place between the leaders of the two German states during West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to the GDR is a very important element of the East-West dialogue also internationally and is "convincing proof of the great force of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems."¹ The communique issued after the meeting also emphasized that ". . . there is no sensible alternative to peaceful and equal cooperation among states. This cooperation must be based on the objectives and principles contained in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Document." To this the GDR adds that, in accordance with all this, relations between the two German states must be the relations that are customary in the practice of international law between two sovereign, independent and equal states. Besides the immediate interests of the citizens of the GDR and FRG, these relations must also serve peace and all-European detente.

The GDR standpoint that evaluates the Honecker-Schmidt meeting makes clear the position that relations between the two German states occupy in the political conditions in Europe, and in the foreign-policy activity of the GDR as well. Similarly as other documents issued earlier, this standpoint expresses the fact that the GDR bases its foreign-policy activity in relation to the other German state on the same principles as in relation to all other capitalist countries. And, in a wider sense, the GDR leadership clearly stated also on this occasion that the GDR regards (in principle as well as in practice) the fostering of relations with capitalist countries as necessary for its interests, and as the only feasible road under the present international conditions. It follows from the geographic and political conditions of the GDR that this applies with special emphasis to relations with the capitalist countries of Europe.

At the 10th SED Congress held on 11-16 April 1981, on Secretary General Erich Honecker's proposal, the Central Committee summed up the party's most important foreign policy objectives in four points (which the congress adopted as its resolution).²

These four points are as follows:

1. Purposeful development of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, on the basis of the concluded friendship agreements. A policy of strengthening and increasing the international appeal of socialism, by better exploiting and utilizing its advantages.

2. Consistent activity to secure peace, curb the arms race, defend and expand political detente, strengthening and making it irreversible through measures that promote military detente and disarmament.

3. Active anti-imperialist solidarity with the peoples struggling for national and social liberation. Development of multilateral cooperation with the peoples of Africa and Latin America. Support of the struggle for a new international economic order based on the principle of equality.

4. Consistent efforts to develop relations with capitalist countries based on peaceful coexistence. The strengthening of these relations in order to intensify cooperation in the interests of peace and mutual advantages, and to frustrate the aggressive circles' policy of confrontation.

The last item in this set of tasks generalizes, from both the political and economic viewpoint, the GDR's foreign policy toward the developed capitalist world. The report submitted to the 10th SED Congress emphasizes that the GDR "... will continue to implement the Helsinki Final Document as a whole, in all its principal aspects, as a program for strengthening detente," and is confident that this will meet with favorable response on the part of the European capitalist countries which, by their signatures in Helsinki, likewise accepted the mutual obligations and partnership based on equality. The SED standpoint also emphasizes that the GDR "... supports every effort to develop relations with all NATO countries that are ready to do likewise" on the basis of equality and equal security, without violating the interests of third countries (for example, of the Warsaw Pact countries).

The GDR's interest in cooperation, based on equality, with the countries of the capitalist world has been obvious since the very formation of the first worker-peasant German state. In Berlin, development of relations with capitalist countries on the basis of the existing realities, including relations with the FRG and other European countries, has always been regarded as an ideological and political axiom of the GDR's international relations.

In 1979, at a scientific conference commemorating the 30th anniversary of the state's foundation, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer explained: in its foreign-policy activity the GDR has always started out from the fact that "... the realization of peaceful coexistence is one of the laws that determine the content of socialism's foreign policy Peaceful coexistence is peaceful cooperation among states, with due regard for their lawful interests, and an active commitment to peace."³

Peaceful cooperation has always and necessarily comprised many elements. In principle it includes strict observation of sovereign equality, noninterference in domestic affairs, and the assertion of mutual advantages; in practice it means the application of a wide range of contacts between states, of the instruments of cooperation, ranging from trade through scientific and technical relations, to culture, sports and personal contacts between individuals.

The GDR derives the development of its Western European relations basically from the socialist nature of the German state and--inseparably from this--from a special sense of responsibility for European peace, necessary and emphatic on German territory. This directly expresses the national interests of the GDR and helps to create more favorable external conditions for the internal construction of socialism.

The GDR economy's raw material requirements (similar in many respects to those of the Hungarian economy), its dependence on the international division of labor, and its traditional openness (the centuries-old tradition of the Leipzig Fair is a good example of this) have made it natural that the GDR belongs among those countries (and, for objective reasons, belonged among them already in 1949) whose ties with the world market are far above the average. And although this link to the world market developed--for obvious political and economic-policy reasons, and partially as a result of the extreme discriminatory measures employed against the GDR--primarily in the direction of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the GDR has always sought ways to cooperate with the capitalist world as well.

A clear indication of this is the fact that about 30 percent of the GDR's industrial production was channeled to foreign trade already in 1975 (since then this proportion has been increasing), and during the past decade the growth rate of foreign trade was significantly higher than the growth rates of national income and of the volume of industrial production. In 1950, at a national income of 22.4 billion marks, the GDR's foreign trade totaled 3.7 billion foreign-exchange marks; in 1980, however, already 120.1 billion marks of 173.9-billion national income was realized in export and import⁴. Within this the share of capitalist countries (including the FRG) was not quite 1.0 billion marks in 1950, but nearly 33 billion marks in 1980. The socialist countries' share was about 80 billion foreign-exchange marks (including 75.2 billion for the CEMA countries and 42.6 billion for the Soviet Union); and the share of developing countries was 7.3 billion. The statistics for 1981 show a further 10-percent rise in the total turnover of foreign trade, emphasizing that export to industrialized capitalist countries (including the European capitalist countries) again shows "a significant increase." The report pointed out that last year there was a significant expansion of trade relations specifically with many Western European countries: France, Austria, Sweden and the FRG⁵. Incidentally, other contacts with these countries (meetings with Austria and the FRG at the highest level, and with France at the foreign ministers level) also indicate, among other things, a further expansion of relations.

The more than 30-year history of the GDR proves that the development of the first German worker-peasant state's relations with capitalist Europe has always reflected accurately the comprehensive balance of power between the socialist and the capitalist world systems, and the general situation in Europe. On the other hand, the development of the GDR and its active international behavior--thus its European foreign policy and its narrower capitalist European foreign policy--have themselves become a factor of the balance-of-power system in Europe. Accordingly, the political, economic and other relations of the GDR with the European capitalist countries developed commensurately with how the ruling circles of these countries (primarily of West Germany) have gradually been forced to recognize the existence of the socialist German state and even to cooperate with it, in their own best interest. At the same time the "GDR factor"--within the socialist system of alliance--has itself become a fermentative force, equally in the political, economic, moral and psychological sense. By fostering and strengthening its present relations, the GDR acts as an element that reinforces European cooperation, even in an international situation such that one of its main tendencies is the exact opposite. The steps taken by the United States government to increase international tension could create an extremely tense situation that directly jeopardizes peace, specifically in the Central European area that includes also the GDR.

Scientific research (at the GDR's Foreign Affairs Institute in Potsdam-Babelsberg) distinguishes five stages in the development of relations between the GDR and capitalist Europe: total rejection of the GDR's existence (1949-1955); cracks in the practical application of the principle of the FRG's status of "sole representative" (1955-1961); preparations for the general recognition of the GDR (1961-1970); the GDR's general recognition, development of the system of diplomatic relations (1971-1975); contractual intensification of the system of multilateral relations and cooperation between the GDR and the capitalist countries, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence (from 1975 on)⁶.

General recognition of the GDR is one of the most spectacular manifestations of the favorable changes in the international balance of power. Following the contracts and agreements that the GDR concluded with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries (including the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and West Germany); the American, British, French and Soviet four-power agreement on West Berlin (signed on 3 September 1971) which, according to the assessment of the signatories and affected parties, is functioning well even today; and the basic agreement, signed on 21 December 1972, that regulates relations between the GDR and FRG in accordance with the rules of international law--international recognition of the GDR swiftly became general, a clear indication of how artificial were the obstacles raised previously to the GDR's recognition.

Among the countries of Western Europe, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and (as the first of the NATO countries) Belgium established diplomatic relations with the GDR immediately after the signing of the basic agreement, already in the last days of 1972. Within a short time diplomatic relations were established with, among others, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Italy, Great Britain, France, Greece and Turkey. At the end of 1973, the GDR was maintaining diplomatic relations already with 103 countries. Because of the reactionary judgment of the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe that torpedoed the content of the basic agreement, the "permanent mission" status of the GDR diplomatic mission in Bonn and Berlin has been retained to this day; their conversion into embassies is, in the opinion of the GDR leadership, one of the important and solvable political tasks of the 1980's. The archconservative Karlsruhe judgment--it questions the international law nature of the relationship between the two German states, reduces to the level of a "demarcation line" the border between them, maintains the legal fiction of the 1937 "German Reich" and does not recognize separate GDR citizenship--still burdens relations not only between the GDR and FRG, but also between the GDR and many other NATO countries. In 1974, the United States also opened its embassy in Berlin. (The United States and its partners still regard as valid the "four-power status of Berlin." As a fine distinction, the sign on the American diplomatic mission in Berlin reads "United States Embassy to the German Democratic Republic" and not "in the German Democratic Republic," thereby indicating that the embassy's government still regards Berlin as a city of "special status" and thus not an integral part of the GDR. Several other NATO countries of Western Europe are following suit.)

Shortly after establishing diplomatic relations with Italy, France, Finland, Iceland and Austria, the German Democratic Republic concluded also long-term economic cooperation agreements with them. This, too, is related to the fact that in the GDR's balance of trade for 1975 the turnover of commodity trade with the industrialized capitalist countries--mostly European ones--rose to 19.3 billion foreign-exchange marks.⁷ By 1975, also military attaches were exchanged with Austria, Belgium, Finland, Italy, Sweden, Cyprus and Switzerland.

Many economic, scientific-technical, cultural, sports, etc. agreements were concluded with the capitalist countries of Western Europe during these years. In 1973, the GDR not only became the 133d member nation of the United Nations, but it also joined the world organization's European regional organizations and institutions. The socialist German state's international situation thus underwent also a qualitative change, and also its role as a stabilizing factor in enhancing European cooperation increased.

A sign of the changing times is that the legal status of the GDR could no longer be questioned during the preparations for the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and at the final conference in Helsinki (although at the time of the 1972-1973 consultations there were some Western, mostly FRG, attempts to prevent the GDR's full-fledged participation). On 1 August 1975, Erich Honecker signed the Helsinki Document in behalf of the GDR, as an equal partner of the 34 other heads of state or heads of government, which not even the West could deny.

In the 1980's the GDR wishes to further expand both its political and economic relations with capitalist countries, in accord with the GDR's comprehensive foreign policy objectives, primarily the strengthening of peace and, inseparably with the former objective, the strengthening of the existing alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The GDR's relations with the West affect the entire international atmosphere, as the present tense world situation clearly demonstrates. Thus neither the GDR nor the European capitalist countries—mostly member nations of NATO and of the Common Market—can divorce themselves from world politics and its European aspects. In other words, there neither is nor can be any automatism in the development of relations between the GDR and the European capitalist countries in the coming years; and it is likewise certain that the intentions and steps to develop relations will not have equal weight in every one of the capitals involved.

A program of the GDR's political-ideological strategy for building an advanced socialist society was formulated already in 1976, by the 9th SED Congress. (The 10th SED Congress reaffirmed this program that covers all areas, including also foreign policy.)

The GDR's foreign policy toward the capitalist countries of Europe in the second half of the 1970's was determined by an effort to use the political dialogue, the negotiations as well as the agreements, for the purpose of curbing and reversing the trend of confrontation in Europe, and for promoting the socialist countries' peace initiatives (various proposals of the Warsaw Pact, repeated Soviet initiatives, etc.). In its relations with the FRG, the GDR placed special emphasis on acceptance of a principle that is of vital importance to peace on the continent and to world peace; i.e., that war should never again start from German soil, from the territory of either German state.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Document, the GDR has concluded about 200 treaties and agreements with other European countries. In its foreign policy the GDR attributes great importance to regular informative and constructive dialogues with these countries.

Oskar Fischer has formulated this policy as follows: "... political dialogue between countries is of great importance for developing relations based on peaceful

coexistence. Likewise a regular exchange of political views at the higher and highest levels is not merely one aspect of peaceful relations between states; in the present international situation, it is also an important means of creating mutual trust."⁸

It can be regarded as a political success that the GDR in its relations with the capitalist countries of Europe has been able to hold regular meetings between heads of government and, with increasing frequency, heads of state, and also at the foreign ministers' level.

In the area of economic and scientific-technical relations with the European capitalist countries, there has lately been greater emphasis than in the past on freeing such relations from various old or new forms of discrimination and restrictions that the West introduced as instruments of political and economic pressure, and which often are in conflict with international law. The GDR makes no secret of a fact which, in specific instances, it is willing to express even at the cost of certain economic sacrifices: in all of its international relations the GDR pursues a policy based on complete equality, noninterference, state sovereignty and inviolable integrity.

Some noteworthy elements are reflected in the development of the balance of trade between the GDR and the countries of Western Europe in recent years.

DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, the journal of the GDR Institute of Foreign Affairs, has formulated also as a policy objective the further expansion of economic relations with capitalist countries, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence: "The intergovernmental or joint commissions that are functioning on the basis of the long-term economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements, and of the trade agreements concluded with the 12 countries of Western Europe, are beneficial to both parties," writes the journal, pointing out that, in the opinion of the GDR, ". . . the possibilities for developing economic cooperation provided by the Helsinki Final Document are far from exhausted."¹⁰

In developing such relations, the GDR is striving for long-term agreements whenever possible-- i.e., for agreements that offer long-term guarantees for both parties, are concluded or guaranteed by the states, and are based on most-favored-nation treatment; besides billing and payment in Western convertible currencies, also clearing, compensation deals and licensing arrangements should be employed whenever this is in accord with the partners' interests; joint ventures, which are playing an ever greater role in modern foreign trade, should be employed, occasionally even on third markets.

For political, economic, geographic and historical reasons, the GDR is interested in fostering and expanding relations with the capitalist countries of Europe. Consequently, in 1977 the European capitalist countries accounted for 92 per cent of the GDR's trade with capitalist countries. (While the turnover has increased, its share has been showing a moderate decline, due to the faster growth of relations between the GDR and Japan, for example.)

In relations between the GDR and FRG in the 1980's, despite West German opposition, the German Democratic Republic intends to further reinforce the practice of applying the rules of international law increasingly, unambiguously and to every area

(separate foreign countries, citizenship, state borders, raising the permanent diplomatic missions to embassy status, etc.). The development of bilateral relations in this manner is closely linked to strengthening European peace. The GDR expressed in this spirit its willingness to expand and intensify cooperation with the FRG, at the Honecker-Schmidt talks on 11-13 December 1981. In Berlin it is regarded as an important foreign-policy result that the joint communique on the talks states: "Relations between the two German states cannot further burden East-West relations."¹¹ The specific work program adopted for the coming years (efforts to settle border disputes, environmental protection, scientific-technical cooperation, transportation problems, cultural relations, the activity of journalists, and the continuation of political consultations on bilateral and international problems) could serve to utilize more broadly, despite the unquestionably existing differences of opinion, the possibilities inherent in the basic agreement concluded in 1972. There are realistic possibilities that relations between the two German states in the coming years will be characterized not by partial disputes, which incidentally are unavoidable, but by the fruits of a constructive willingness to cooperate.

In commodity trade between the GDR and FRG, the GDR's principal export items are brown-coal briquet, paraffin, various machine tools, electrical and electronic equipment, radios, cameras, household articles, synthetic materials, furniture, books, ready-made clothing, toys, etc.; the FRG's principal export items are coal, machine tools, other machinery, chemicals and light-industry goods.¹² In the Honecker-Schmidt talks, both sides confirmed the further expansion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the broadest sense, including modern forms of relations. This is reflected also in the GDR's medium-range plan for 1981-1985 and its 1982 national economic plan.

Economic and trade relations, as well as political relations, between the GDR and West Berlin are affected by the FRG's continuing claim to attempt to govern the city--contrary to the clear provisions of the four-power agreement--and occasionally to try to interfere from there in the life and internal affairs of the GDR. In spite of this, the GDR is willing to foster its existing relations with West Berlin, which will permit real good neighborly relations and will not lead to tensions over a city that lies in the heart of Europe and of the GDR, in practice still has the status of an occupied city and is very sensitive from the viewpoint of the international environment. Complete implementation of the many agreements that more or less function well (mutual deliveries, transport opportunities, visits, etc.) is still being hampered frequently by events and actions that disrupt the normal situation. (In all political matters, the Senate still tries to always contact the GDR through Bonn or the three Western powers.) On the basis of the favorable balance for the 1970's, however, there is at least hope that West Berlin will not become again a troublepot of Europe in the 1980's, a "front city."

Relations between the GDR and France are now regarded as "relations of special significance."¹³ Relations between the two countries are characterized by regular meetings on a high (although not yet the highest) level. The scope of relations regulated by agreements include not only economic, scientific and technical relations but also consular relations, for example. In 1975, France joined the ranks of the GDR's trade partners whose turnover is at least 1.0 billion foreign-exchange marks, and the rapid growth rate of the turnover makes the two countries increasingly important markets for each other. The GDR-French cultural agreement, for

example, provides also for the mutual establishment of cultural institutes. On this basis, France probably will be the first capitalist country to operate a cultural institution in Berlin, and the first NATO country in whose capital a GDR cultural institute will open.

Since Kreisky's official visit to the GDR in 1978 and Honecker's trip to Austria in 1980, relations between the GDR and Austria in the political, economic and other areas are among the ones (similarly as Hungarian-Austrian relations) that are frequently cited as good examples of peaceful coexistence. Austria has adopted a positive standpoint even on recognizing separate GDR citizenship, to which the FRG still objects. (See the consular treaty of 24 March 1975.) The turnover of commodity trade between the two countries amounted to only 247 million foreign-exchange marks in 1970, exceeded 1.1 billion marks in 1979, approximated 2.0 billion in 1980 and is continuing to grow at a rapid rate.

Despite the fluctuations in the elements of political relations, economic relations between the GDR and the United Kingdom remain consistently on a relatively high level (in political respects this area is evidently very sensitive).

The GDR's relations with Italy are gradually developing in many areas. The two countries concluded a 10-year economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreement already in 1973, and in 1978 it was supplemented by another intergovernmental agreement. Agreements have been concluded also on the problems of transport, welfare, health care and animal health. The channels of political consultations are functioning more or less regularly, and cultural relations are becoming more and more extensive. Commodity trade between Italy and the GDR surpassed the one-million mark level in 1979 and has been rising ever since.

Since its formation, the GDR has always devoted above-average attention to relations with the Scandinavian countries. Both Honecker and Stoph visited Finland, and President Kekkonen was the first European capitalist statesman to visit the GDR (in 1977). Finland was the first country with which the GDR concluded an agreement on mutual assistance in customs matters (in 1975). The scope of other government-level agreements includes transportation, consular matters, the economy, science and technology, culture, sports, public education, radio and television, etc. For the 1980's, the greatest reserves are seen in trade; in the opinion of both governments, the 1980 turnover of 639 million marks is far below the real potential.

This is proved indirectly also by the fact that the GDR-Swedish trade turnover, which is growing at a rapid rate even now and has already exceeded the 2.5-billion-mark level, is several times greater. The ministerial (including repeated foreign-minister) and parliamentary meetings, and the various agreements concluded since 1973 offer a good basis for the development of relations between the two countries in the 1980's, something that both countries not only desire but plan on doing. Relations with Denmark, Norway and Iceland likewise are developing, although not at the fastest rates.

Among the other European capitalist countries, the Benelux countries are politically significant and economically important partners of the GDR. Among the NATO countries, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg were the first ones to establish diplomatic relations with the GDR. Political consultations with all three countries are regular, including repeated meetings at the foreign ministers' level. In 1974,

10-year economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements were concluded with the three countries, and since then these agreements have been expanded repeatedly. The Netherlands is a "billionaire" trading partner of the GDR since 1974; and Belgium-Luxembourg, since 1979.

In relations between the GDR and Switzerland the political elements, consisting mostly of consultations (the foreign ministers have met several times since 1977), are likewise significant, but the main content of the relations is economic, and their stability is based on the long-term trade and economic agreement concluded in 1975. The value of the trade turnover (together with Lichtenstein) exceeded 1.0 billion marks already in 1973, and in 1980 it was over 2.5 billions. With Cyprus, political cooperation is more significant than the economic relations between the two countries.

The GDR's relations with Portugal, Spain, Greece and Turkey are developing moderately.

Honecker, the GDR's chief of state, has listed among the most important foreign-policy tasks of the 1980's that "we are developing in the spirit of peace our relations with countries belonging to the capitalist half of the world."¹⁴ And this is also the political program for the future development of relations between the GDR and the capitalist countries of Europe.

FOOTNOTES

1. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 51, 1981.
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 April 1982.
3. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 1, 1980.
4. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR" [Statistical Yearbook of the GDR], 1981.
5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16-17 January 1982.
6. "Aussenpolitik der DDR" [The Foreign Policy of the GDR], Berlin, 1979.
7. "Handbuch der DDR" [Handbook of the GDR], Leipzig, 1979.
8. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 1, 1980.
9. In 1970, the GDR had a trade turnover of 4.05 billion foreign-exchange marks with the FRG and West Berlin, which was more than the combined trade turnover with all the other capitalist countries. In 1975, the combined trade turnover of seven other Western European countries--in decreasing order: the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Belgium and Austria--with the GDR equaled the GDR's 6.4746 billion turnover with the FRG and West Berlin. In 1979, however, the combined turnover of the GDR with six European capitalist countries--in decreasing order: England, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy and Austria--was more than the GDR's 8.7087 billion foreign-exchange mark turnover with the FRG and West Berlin. The pattern in 1980 developed as follows: The GDR's turnover was 7.3 billion marks with the FRG and 2.8 billion with West Berlin, or a total of 10.1 billion marks. This was now

exceeded by the combined turnover with five other European capitalist countries --in decreasing order these now were: Switzerland with Lichtenstein, France, Austria, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. (In addition, the GDR's export-import turnover with Belgium, including Luxembourg, and with Sweden and Italy was more than 1.0 billion foreign-exchange marks.)

10. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 11, 1980.
11. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 5, 1981.
12. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," 1981.
13. "Aussenpolitik der DDR," Berlin, 1979.
14. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 31 December 1981.

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'BROAD POLITICAL ALLIANCE' WITH 'BOURGEOIS PACIFISTS' ADVOCATED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 4, Apr 82
(signed to press 10 Feb 82) pp 492-498

['Remarks and Reports' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Hocke, Friedrich Engels Military Academy, Dresden: "Philosophic Problems of the Struggle Against Imperialist War Ideology"]

[Text] This was the subject of the science conference the Marxist-Leninist philosophy department of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy held in Dresden on 15 October 1981, having invited representatives of all philosophic institutes in the GDR. The object of the science conference was to put up for discussion some specific problems that have to do with an important aspect of our peace strategy, with the ideological issue over the question of human survival--the issue of war or peace.

Once again the 10th SED Congress, as previously also the 26th CPSU Congress, had placed the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, and against the imperialist course of escalated confrontation, intensified war preparations and a stronger trend toward military force, aggression and counterrevolution, in the center of political strategy and ideological confrontation. So the ideological dispute on the causes of war and of the arms race, and on the conditions for peace and disarmament, has become a central topic in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which understands itself as an intellectual weapon of the workers class and all working people struggling for their fundamental vital interests. Proceeding from there, the conference also adopted the recommendations from the April 1980 conference of the Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy to strengthen philosophic work on the problems of war and peace and create a forum for the exchange of ideas for all those philosophers who are dealing with these matters at the various institutions in our republic.

In opening the conference, H. Syrbe paid tribute to the practical and theoretical importance of the problems up for discussion and welcomed all attendants, who came from 21 civilian and military institutions.

In discussing the detailed theses presented (E. Hocke, G. Kiessling, W. Scheler), the point was made, on the basis of a situation assessment, that the bourgeoisie, due to its process through history, had developed two opposite basic ideological

positions on war and peace, one pacifist and the other militarist. "Toward the end of the rising phase of the bourgeoisie, in the prevailing ideology the fundamental change took place from humanistic ideas about war and peace to militaristic thinking." In describing the developmental phases of militaristic ideology (war ideology), it is pointed out that to the extent that the bourgeoisie has to react to socialism's practice and ideology of peace the contrasts in the basic ideological positions of the bourgeoisie on war and peace also deepen and a pacifistic counter-current gains a new content of strength and influence.

When looked at both trends with discrimination, it becomes clear there are numerous transitions and gradations between them, "as these opposite lines not only exclude but also penetrate each other and appear in certain types of combinations." In the turn, engendered by socialism, from the Cold War to detente, the spiritual battle of the pacifist against the militarist line has no doubt played a certain role. Today that dispute not insignificantly affects the struggle for forcing back the imperialist confrontation course and preventing thermonuclear world war. By "imperialist war ideology" the authors mean that "part of the political ideology of the bourgeoisie that forms the preparation and conducting of imperialist predatory wars and wars of conquest, directly based on the ideological-theoretical foundation of imperialist militarism, the antiprogressive use of military violence and of reactionary, unjust imperialist peace. The imperialist war ideology reflects the class interests of the most aggressive forces of the monopoly bourgeoisie and, in particular, articulates the economic and political interests of the military-industrial complex." So the imperialist war ideology is not identical with the totality of the contemporary bourgeois ideas about war and peace.

These theses define the dialectical connection between war policy and war ideology in imperialism; in connection with it, a point is made of the not so rarely found personal identity between leading strategy theoreticians and war ideologists. The chief function of the war ideology today is "to justify the anticommunist crusade against peace and progress and lead it ideologically, and mentally to prepare the greatest crime against humanity--worldwide nuclear war." The war ideology has the task to pervade all public life in the imperialist states with militarist ideas. It is a tool for the ideological suppression of the peace struggle by the workers class and all working people and for activating them in the interest of an aggressive and repressive use of military force. Aggressive circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie by means of the war ideology also oppose those bourgeois ideologists who, obeying the precept of reason, are coming out for peace and against war, for detente and against confrontation.

These theses stress the close connection between imperialist war ideology and the political ideology of contemporary conservatism, but they also point out certain differences. All ideological guidelines of the contemporary imperialist war ideology are marked by an extreme hostility to progress showing up in militant anti-communism and anti-Sovietism propagated with boundless and open and extreme aggressiveness. Typical of the war ideology here is the "postulate of a community," established especially by anticommunist, but also by nationalistic and racist, opposition and distinguished, as being of higher value, from the denigrated enemy (communism, social and national liberation movement, peace movement); the "proclamation of a mission," which is meant to generate a militant anticommunist missionary zeal that includes a pledge to war and violence as decisive means;

"its clearly pronounced activism," which is given an irrational basis; the "elitist elevation of the military" and its "extreme eclecticism" with respect to the whole spectrum of reactionary ideas. For its ideological substantiation the imperialist war ideology prefers subjective-idealistic-theoretical and methodological principles derived today especially from pragmatism and irrationalism.

The theses provide an extensive account of the contents in which the basic anti-communist attitude of the imperialist war ideology crystallizes. The cult of military force and war is its predominant feature. The ideological justifications and manifestations of that essential feature change, depending on the waning strength of imperialism. The modifications in the cult of violence and war range from the glorification of war as the "eternal form of higher human existence" (O. Spengler) to the justification, dressed up through defense demagoguery, of the use of military force against socialism and any sort of social progress. Today the idolatry of violence is expressed mainly in the demands not to let oneself be paralyzed "by the fear of war" (St. T. Possony) and to replace "passive deterrence theory" by "militarily undergirding an active policy" (F. O. Mischke), and in the denigration of detente as a "strategy of cowardice" (G.-K. Kaltenbrunner).

As to peace, its essential characteristic in the imperialist war ideology is the devaluation of peace compared with war as a second-rate phenomenon, the stuffing of the peace concept with reactionary content, and the demagogical use of the peace concept. Peace is understood as an outcome of war and as means for new wars or--while imperialist military power is being praised as a tool for pressure and blackmail--as a condition based on the force of arms and overwhelming military superiority. Reactionary, undemocratic, unjust peace, especially enforced imperialist peace, is being affirmed.

A guiding idea in the war ideology is the anticommunist, mainly anti-Sovietist, lie about the threat. Though it has a relative life of its own--even above and beyond the war ideology--in it, it still finds its most radical form, marked by fanatical anticommunism and frenetic hatred. Along with general contents and symbols, the war ideology also contains ideas, mostly nationalistic ones, that conform to particular basic interests of the most aggressive circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie in one imperialist state or another. In the war ideology of FRG imperialism that is today, especially, the fiction of the survival of the German Reich within the 1937 borders, the denial of GDR citizenship, and the demand to "keep the German question open."

An aggressive confrontation with the imperialist war ideology is an important task of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and, in view of the complex character of the leading ideas in war ideology, calls for close cooperation with economists, sociologists, historians, military scientists and all other social scientists. It also is an indispensable element of politically and morally steeling the members of the socialist armed forces and of reinforcing the ideological defense readiness of all citizens of the socialist state.

In the struggle against imperialist war ideology, the main thing today is to disclose the profound contrast between the inhumanity and irrationality in militaristic ambitions and the humanism and reason in the joint efforts of all peace forces.

The dangers imperialism has created to peace are so great that in the struggle against the imperialist war ideology an extremely broad political alliance also is needed based on the reason and rationality of all who want peace and thus also on what people have intellectually in common.

In their conclusion, the theses state: "Our strongest weapon in the struggle against the imperialist war ideology is the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and its theory on war and peace and on the armed forces. Propagating these views aggressively and militantly and developing them further under the new conditions of struggle calls for close cooperative efforts between the social scientists in the NVA and in all other GDR institutions."

Proceeding from these theses, W. Scheler in his introductory paper concentrated on some questions the discussion of which is of special interest. He emphasized that this year's conference was less concerned with submitting finished results but rather more with discussing some intermediate results, problem positions and hypotheses coming out of ongoing research. His first priority was his presenting his conception of the meaning and importance of the concept of "imperialist war ideology." After describing the development of the militaristic line in bourgeois ideology in the Cold War years--as representatives of which were mentioned in particular Burnham, Strausz-Hupe, Schlam and Possony--and the temporary easing of that basic position with the turn to détente, the speaker discussed the imperialist turn to confrontation, its ideological preparation and hysterical escalation. "The militarist line has clearly reemerged and again is seeking supremacy," he said and continued: "So it is, for one thing, the direct connection between imperialist war ideology and confrontation policy which compels us thoroughly to analyze the war ideology and place it in the center of the ideological conflict. If we want to bring down the confrontation policy, which goes hand in hand with open war preparations, we must identify, and concentrate our fire on, the imperialist war ideology as our primary hostile ideological target."

Second, the political sense of distinguishing imperialist war ideology from all other currents in bourgeois thought concerning war, peace and military violence lies in staking out the framework "within which can be found all we have in common spiritually with all forces interested in peace. The distillation of the imperialist war ideology thus is essential for forming an extremely broad political alliance, as the only ideological precondition for it may rate the joint opposition to the imperialist war ideology." Those two points, according to the speaker, mark the main importance in defining the imperialist war ideology, its delineation and its substantive and functional analysis.

Subsequently the speaker took issue with the possible objection that such a fundamental differentiation of bourgeois conceptions was exclusively political yet not ideological. The crucial point of departure is the opposition between materialism and idealism when one thinks about war and peace. But that no longer is identical today with severing Marxist-Leninist thought from non-Marxist thought. With respect to forming a broad anti-war front against the imperialist war party and its militaristic ideology, such an ideological boundary is, to be sure, necessary but not sufficient. Above what separates us ideologically must stand the overriding interest in peace--wholly in line of the demands by L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker. What links us with non-militarist bourgeois thought about war and peace must come first, even though ultimately it is idealistic thought. In this,

as the speaker explained, we proceed "from a broad concept of bourgeois pacifism coined by Lenin when he was working on the concept of peaceful coexistence," i.e. in terms of distinguishing between the aggressive-bourgeois and the pacifistic camp within the international bourgeoisie. In that sense then, neither is pacifism confined to absolute pacifism nor is it forgotten that it cannot stand up to any Marxist-Leninist critique.

After treating a whole spectrum of views which make up today's bourgeois pacifism, the speaker made the point "that opposing imperialist war ideology, on the one side, with socialist peace ideology and bourgeois pacifism, on the other, definitely amounts to a basic ideological statement, because what is involved here is the most important thing in contemporary history: the destiny of mankind. For or against nuclear catastrophe, for or against human civilization perishing in a nuclear war--that is in fact one of the crucial ideological questions today." The distinction made conforms to the appraisal of the two opposing tendencies in international development as given by E. Honecker at the 10th SED Congress.

The second point the speaker concentrated on was his description of the contemporary bourgeois war ideology. He pointed to some problems that have arisen in the course of research and emphasized that we have to work further on the analysis of the origin, the ideological principles and philosophic sources and the invariable characteristics as well as the changing variables in history of the imperialist war ideology. He explained in detail his opting for the term "imperialist war ideology" in showing its suitability compared with terms identical in meaning such as "military ideology of imperialism" or "ideology of imperialist militarism." In this connection he also referred to Soviet research results.

Another problem is the development of authoritative representatives of the imperialist war ideology and a detailed analysis of the views they hold on the most important ideologically relevant issues. Here he referred to the suggestive research results on neoconservatism and the research series of IPW. Proceeding from there, he named as today's representatives of the imperialist war ideology R. Strausz-Hupe, W. R. Kintner, St. T. Possony, E. Rostow, R. Reagan, N. Podhoretz, J. Ball, H. Jackson, R. J. Rummel, H. Ruehle, A. Weinstein, W. Safire, S. Huntington, C.-K. Kaltenbrunner, R. Nixon, F. O. Mischke, Z. Brzezinski, J. Schlesinger, G. Wettig, H.-P. Schwarz, M. Woerner and others. The inclusion of politicians conforms with the fact that today's war ideologists anticipated the confrontation policy and some of them also exercise political functions in implementing that conception. Their open hostility to socialism is found in their endeavor to replace the approximate military-strategic equilibrium by imperialist superiority, to eliminate socialism by force through "rationalizing" nuclear war and creating a nuclear first strike capability.

In a third point the speaker concentrated in conclusion on some specific problems in the struggle against imperialist war ideology. He commented on the connection that struggle has with the struggle against anticommunism, explained the role of the problems arising in the outcome of such war in this struggle, and gave his views on the style and method of such struggle. He emphasized that the philosophers' active involvement in the struggle against imperialist war ideology was among the best traditions of the history of philosophy in the GDR and should have to be carried on deliberately. The struggle for peace can of course not be won exclusively

on ideological grounds, and so the speaker affirmed in his conclusion that a war ideology and war policy respecting power only have to be opposed by the real power of the peace forces, the power of their united action and their military power as well.

A total of 17 attendants of the conference engaged in lively and constructive debate. W. Neubert (Berlin) in principle agreed with the theses and the paper and declared that the dramatic situation emphatically demanded proceeding this way from the question of human survival. As Lenin's peaceful coexistence theory was the diametrical opposite to today's war ideology, it was important also to make clear the qualitative difference between the Marxist-Leninist conceptions and the bourgeois-pacifist ones. The form of taking issue with pacifist conceptions, in his view, should have to be a dialogue that takes their distance from the war ideology into account. He also raised the question whether the war ideology was linked only with the most aggressive forces, and he appreciated the ways and means in presenting the connection between war policy and war ideology and the general description of the traits of the war ideologists in the theses and in the paper.

R. Kieser (Dresden) dealt with the problem of the socioeconomic principles of imperialist war ideology and war policy. He endorsed the theses on the role of the military-industrial complex and explained, proceeding from Lenin's analysis of imperialism, from which economic causes the violence of imperialist policy mainly arose today. He referred in this context to the ideological activities by armaments capital itself. He stressed the need to look for the transitions and gradations between pacifist ideology and war ideology.

B.-P. Loewe (Berlin) dealt with the development of the imperialist war ideology since the 1950's, explained the role of the "realistic school," and treated central theoretical invariables under the aspect of seeking to establish "security." He disclosed close connections between that debate and the imperialist war ideology and showed that the traditionalism in the imperialist understanding of security, the preference for military strength and superiority, the slogan, "one world or none," the proclivity toward militarization, and the claim that outspoken anti-communism was not anti-detente are part and parcel of imperialist war ideology.

M. Steinbach (Jena) dealt with the conservative variant of imperialist war ideology and stressed the essential fundamental connection between conservatism and militarism. He made the point that for conservative ideologists war was no socio-economic but essentially an anthropological category while commenting on the line of tradition from Nietzsche to Gehlen, Hornung and Kaltenbrunner. He showed how in the conservative variant of the war ideology matters of social concern had been shifted into the irrational and mythological and that the conservative debate on the "tyranny of values" was aimed against the "tyranny" of peace and ends in a positive evaluation of war. The plaint of the loss of conservative values also meant the plaint of the "adieu from soldiers" (Karst) and of the "lack" of militarism (Weinstein). After describing the development of conservative conceptions, as that of J. Burnham, the speaker pointed out that the conservative-militaristic variant (combined with a conservative critique of the Bundeswehr) was gaining increasing influence on the FRG government.

F. Guenther (Jena) emphasized in his remark the need to come to grips with pacifistic influences, dealt with problems in such confrontation and raised the question of using pacifistic arguments in the ideological diversion of the enemy.

W. Jahn (Dresden) discussed how the cultivation of the tradition in the Bundeswehr helps in its own ways realize the objectives of the imperialist war ideology. Being anticommunist and nationalistic in shape, fostering the traditions of the imperialist German armies of the past, especially of the fascist Wehrmacht, served to motivate FRG army members to fulfil their imperialist class mission. To disguise that aggressive mission, they also included "flexible elements" in their cultivation of traditions. While FRG Minister Apel had announced that conservative elements in the cultivation of traditions would be somewhat turned down, no concrete step in that direction had yet been taken. Instead, opinion manipulation was being increased with purpose.

E. Hocke (Dresden) dealt with historic aspects in the birth and growth of the war ideology and emphasized that the imperialist war ideology was the ultimate and supreme stage in this line of development. Commenting on there being different types of militarism today, he pointed out that there were also different types of war ideology. In their tendency--as shown by the development of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship in China--they were always closely linked with imperialist war policy and war ideology. After dealing with specific problems in the relationship between war policy and war ideology, he returned once more to the problem of differentiating, on which the discussion had touched several times. In connection with that he made the point that a broad political alliance in the struggle against imperialist war policy and war ideology by no means amounted to an uncritical attitude toward bourgeois pacifism. What there was commonly held in this struggle should be emphasized, to be sure, provided the concept of pacifism employed did not differ from that of the theses and the paper.

H. Klein (Berlin) raised the question of an expanded definition of the concept "imperialist war ideology." Proceeding from the inevitable connection between imperialism and opportunism, one should also have to inquire into the military-political activities of right-wing social reformist social democratic ideologues and examine the use made of social-reformist or revisionist distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution in "justifying" the anticommunist totalitarianism doctrine and the lie of the threat. He finally commented on the role of opportunism today and the ideological and political differentiations within the SPD with respect to the war-peace issue, and he took issue with social democratic spokesmen for the imperialist arms-buildup policy.

F. Rupprecht (Berlin) declared himself in agreement, in principle, with the theses and the paper and offered detailed suggestions for making some provisions more distinct. A more thorough analysis was required, in his view, of the question whether the differentiations in the bourgeois camp were in fact different basic ideological positions or only different ideological currents or trends. In detail he then discussed the role of "danger" and "dread" in connection with the ideological issue-taking over the war-peace issue. He explained how we define the magnitude of danger and opposed the irrationalization of danger by bourgeois philosophy. While he defined "danger" as an objective situation, a category of the class struggle, he stressed that we should have to analyze "dread" in a more differentiated manner as a subjective reaction to danger.

H. Spies (Berlin) commented on the causes for the upsurge of imperialist war ideology in the mid-1970's and emphasized the linkage between war ideology and war policy. Greater attention, in his view, should be given to the connection between the areas that produce and those that disseminate ideology. Finally, he went into detail in discussing the role of war ideology in ideological diversion.

F. Zierold (Berlin) stressed how topical the concern of the conference was and credited the theses, the paper and the discussion with many valuable suggestions for further ideological-theoretical work. Then he devoted himself to problems in the education of the military cadre toward coming to grips with the imperialist war ideology and drew inferences from that for the personal conduct and behavior of the members of the armed forces. His view was that it was worthwhile to examine the role of pacifism in greater detail.

A. Pech (Dresden) treated some aspects of taking issue with the ideological-theoretical justifications for preparing aggressions by the "war pictures" of imperialist ideologues in the FRG. He explained their content and functions, showed how they served the attempts at "rationalizing" nuclear war and unmasked the extreme anticommunism of these "war pictures," which, e.g., called the loss of 25 percent of the population "tolerable." He pointed out that they served to substantiate the war policy ideologically and theoretically and that their dissemination was part of FRG imperialism's ideological war preparation.

In discussing the consequences of war and their importance to the peace struggle, with G. Hoffmann (Loebau) and F. Zierold (Berlin) expressing their ideas, H. Syrbe made the point that they should have to be taken most seriously and that the grave consequences of nuclear war still further increased the responsibility of the socialist armed forces for the protection of socialism and for the saving of humanity.

D. Mueller (Berlin) discussed the views of C. F. von Weizsaecker, whom he called a conservative adherent to detente. His remarks underscored the need for the distinction made in the theses between conservatism and war ideology.

S. Fischer (temporarily in Moscow) discussed the dialectics between struggle and cooperation in peaceful coexistence and pointed out that the dialectics, in principle, applied to all areas, that is to say, to the economic, political and ideological areas in international relations.

In his final remarks, W. Scheler thanked all attendants for their objective, constructive, critical and supportive discussion. He made the point that it had turned out to be correct to put up for discussion even now intermediate results, problem positions and hypotheses and took a position once again in this context on the problem of making distinctions among bourgeois conceptions. He expressed the expectation that conferences of the philosophers dealing with problems of war and peace would in the future be held regularly at philosophic institutions in the GDR.

ADVANTAGES OF TANK DRIVING SIMULATOR OUTLINED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 20, 1982 (signed to press 10 May 82) p 8

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Seen at Ernst Thaelmann Officer College: Tele-Drive Simulator in Testing"]

[Text] The Tank and Motor Vehicle Technology Section of the Ernst Thaelmann officer college has repeatedly drawn attention in recent years through innovations allowing for essential improvements in the training in various fields, e.g., the Tankett for electro- and special equipment, with its two large luminous-circuit plans, became the center of the Military Exhibition in Leipzig in the NVA's exhibition hall a few years ago. It is not inconceivable that at the 25th Military Exhibition this year, a new exhibit of the section under the direction of Col Hauschild could be the top attraction. We are referring here to the experimental model of a tele-drive simulator which the Section's comrades have built after the already tested model: cooperation between specially trained officers and officer cadets, other members of the Section as well as workers from the people-owned industry. In this particular case, a reservist collective from a people-owned enterprise, the Otto Buchwitz power plant in Dresden, supported the comrades working for Lt Col Willi Drexel.

In general, 14 to 15 percent of the officer cadets of this Section participated on a continuous basis in this work. To be sure, this activity limited their free time somewhat, but it was obvious that the future tank and motor vehicle specialists accepted that gladly for the following advantages: it does not hurt one's intelligence, and it brings one even closer to practical training. It prepares one for the future work in the field and enables one to better solve problems in the future.

But back to the drive-simulator: the call for it had come from the commander of the ground forces, with the objective of increasing the effectiveness of training in tank driving for officer cadets and, of course, to save fuel at the same time.

Objective: Training as Realistically as Possible

The initial consideration was: the trainee is briefed in the simulator on all elements, operational mechanisms and signals even before he gets into the real tank. For that purpose, everything around the driver seat should be

identical to the way it is in the T-55 so that the trainee can repeatedly practice all activities of the tank driver, including how to properly divide his attention. The simulator should also permit training on how to start the engine, which is more complex than starting the engine of a car. The so-called climax was to be the "drive." All this is actually possible with the simulator which was developed and built in a relatively short time and is being tested at present to gain experience for the further training process.

Part of the tele-drive simulator are the gyroscopically mounted driver cab, the control panel, and command post and the projection of the terrain through a camera. In the cab, which is a true copy of that of the T-55, the trainee sees the part of the terrain he is driving through in his periscope. The picture comes from a TV camera above. The camera speed depends on the gear the vehicle is in and on the engine revolutions. Since every move the trainee is being projected, it is quite possible to "run down" a tree, to "get stuck" in an obstacle or to "slide off" the track. The trainer is able to interrupt any move by the trainee. He is also able to give instant advice when a sequence is not followed correctly, e.g., while starting the engine. This means that all cadets will act uniformly and it avoids possible mistakes when starting up the engine. The trainer communicates with the trainee through the intercom. It is important that the trainee is exposed to a realistic noise simulation in his cab. This corresponds to the position of the foot pedal. Depending on the evenness and condition of the terrain, the cab tilts forward or back. All other activities such as using the clutch, switching, steering or breaking are also observed from the command post.

The Simulator is not Meant to Replace the T-55

In addition, it is possible for the trainee to practice situations which can actually occur in a tank. For example, the trainer can change the temperature of the water or oil or the oil pressure. The trainee must then recognize the situation, report these changes to the trainer and initiate the necessary measures to be taken.

The original tank is not to be replaced by this simulator. But the simulator represents an important aid for tank driver training independent of weather or time of day or night. First results indicate that: for each trainee, 10 km of driving with the actual tank can be saved for the first practice drive alone (driving in cut-through terrain). In the opinion of experienced trainers, it is also possible to complete some other driving practices in the simulator.

In addition, it has been noted that if the trainee is briefed well in the characteristics of the simulator (e.g. if the operational devices in the tank are not quite as easy to operate than in the simulator), then simulator trainees do as well as those who have completed their first practice drive exclusively in the tank. In addition, trainees who have first practiced in the simulator usually make fewer mistakes on the course. However, shifting was not as precise, but this can be somewhat corrected through a thorough explanation of the differences between simulator and tank.

In a later edition, VOLKSAFMEE will give a summary of additional training equipment which has already been built in the Tank and Motor Vehicle Section of the Ernst Thaelmann Officer College, and which are in constant use for training.

FLIGHT ENGINEERING CHIEF STRESSES MATERIAL ECONOMY IN TRAINING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1982 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)
pp 113-115

[Interview with Maj Gen E Telle, chief, Flight Engineering Service (date and place not indicated): "Responsible Maintenance Is the Central Issue for Every Mechanic, Technician and Engineer"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General! A year has passed since the Tenth SED Congress. What results can our Flight Engineering Service show?

[Answer] For us, as for all NVA members, the defense of peace and, in connection with that, a high degree of combat readiness are decisive for our thinking and acting.

As Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized at the third session of the SED Central Committee, the international situation has intensified enormously and, since the end of the World War I, world peace has not been threatened as much as it is today. Our comrades know that the causes for this are found primarily in the NATO's arms buildup and its insistence on stationing medium-range weapons in Western Europe.

The flight engineers and technicians are fully aware of the resulting danger for peace. They act accordingly and fulfill their part of the class mission conscientiously. They protect the air space of the GDR and of the socialist community of state reliably by assuring the combat training and the Alert Stand-By System with ever greater effectiveness, quality and safety.

The combat strength and combat readiness of an army are the product of a large number of factors. Of decisive importance among them are a firm class conviction, political-moral condition, combat readiness of combat technology and its perfect mastery. For that reason, most important in their daily training and education is Lenin's realization that without soldiers who act consciously and with initiative, success is impossible in a modern war and even the best weapons system remains ineffective.

With the support of party and Free German Youth organizations, leaders on all levels have succeeded during the past training year in continuously strengthening their people's class-status, in further developing their conscientiousness regarding all work as technology, and in converting everything important for combat into a measurable increase in achievements.

Visible signs of this are the fact that the combat readiness of aircraft and helicopters was guaranteed under all conditions, and an increase in combat readiness and repeat-start preparedness of aircraft for the required time limits was fulfilled, in part even considerably exceeded. Socialist competition, with its mobilizing effect, played a decisive role in this.

The Air Force's modern aircraft technology, which of course plays a decisive part in this combat efficiency and combat readiness, needs a universally trained soldier. It places ever higher demands on his political-moral qualifications, on his overall military and military-technical knowledge and skills.

[Question] You said that combat strength and combat readiness of the socialist Air Force were essentially determined by technical equipment. What developments have taken place during the last years in this connection?

[Answer] The development of the Air Force was, just to name a few types, from the proven Jak-18, Jak-11 and SM-1 to the MiG-15, MiG-21 and Mi-4 to today's third generation aircraft technology. Today our air force has at its disposal, thanks to the continuous support by our party and government, modern vertical-start aircraft and helicopter gunships. These aircraft and helicopters from Soviet production represent a new generation and are the result of rapid developments in recent years in science and technology, especially in the fields of electronics and cybernetics.

Modern radar, navigation and landing systems, laser installations, bord computers, new bord cannons and guided missiles, more efficient engines guided by modern components, flight guidance installations developed in accordance with the newest technology are characteristic for the aircraft mentioned. The testing and the size of the automatic testing and control stations of course also increased. Overall, the degree of automation, the complex character and the blending of the individual specialties of the flight engineering service have increased essentially.

[Question] Renovation and modernization of combat technology is a legitimate process. What do the resulting requirements on mechanics and engineers consist of?

[Answer] Already at the beginning I referred to the fact that the armed combat of personnel and also the most modern and effective weapons systems have only very little combat effectiveness without well trained soldiers who act consciously and with conviction. The flight engineer in combat is therefore a political as well as a military leader. He is educator and at the same time military specialist in his field.

For the expert maintenance and repair of aircraft technology, greater basic and specialized technical knowledge must be demanded from engineers and mechanics. This was taken into account. Today, most officers possess the qualifications of a college-educated engineer. The leading officers in the flight engineering service of a wing have an engineering diploma.

Knowledge and ability of technicians and mechanics also grew continuously, no matter whether the individual works on so-called old technology or is personally responsible for the latest technology. The extensive knowledge

and skills were, and had to be, gained in schools and were purposefully and systematically strengthened and increased through a strict and varied system of specialized continued training in the field.

The complexity of the equipment of the weapons systems, the inclusion of microelectronics in the most varied systems, for example, require from engineers and technicians responsible for arming aircraft the same knowledge about electronics as from specialists for special electrical equipment or other specialities. In addition to the knowledge, the skills of engineers and the perfection of all activities are of decisive significance because it is important to make the aircraft combat ready in the shortest possible time. For that reason, continuous training of the entire engineering personnel, regardless of their specialties, in arming and rearming, led by experienced specialists, must be carried out.

However, as experience has shown time and again, the constant combat readiness of aircraft technology and the guarantee of technical safety must not be reduced to a purely technical process. The degree to which pilots can fulfill their mission of protecting the air space depends to a decisive degree on the personal political responsibility of each individual for following the maintenance and repair regulations to the letter, on the conscientiousness and supervision of those in charge, on their love for technology, on their inner attitude and conviction towards discipline and order.

[Question] You imply an intrinsic connection between the political and technical ability of specialists and the quality of maintenance. What is typical of this interrelationship? How can this be used optimally in the field?

[Answer] An important criterion for the effectiveness of political-ideological work is the exemplary solving of all engineering-technical tasks of combat readiness and the Alert Stand-By System. This is an essential prerequisite for a high degree of flight safety.

The flight engineering personnel, and here especially aircraft technicians, decide with their actions how well the weapons systems given in their trust are taken care of, maintained and kept in a reliable state. To keep these values up and to maintain this technology in a perpetually combat-ready condition for the defense of our socialist fatherland are demands made on each individual.

I speak consciously of each individual, since the clearly defined individual work of individual engineers is becoming more and more characteristic, based on ever increasing specialization; this means that the participation of the individual in the technical maintenance of modern weapons systems is becoming more and more important.

This also obligates the commanders of technical services to take their responsibility more seriously. They must work on an individual basis with each one of their men and must know the strengths as well as the weaknesses of each individual in order to train him better.

[Question] In your opinion, in what way should the Flight Engineering Service be improved most?

[Answer] It is our main goal to reduce personnel and technology while maintaining flight achievements, i.e., achieve modern economy. The way to achieve this is, just like in the people's economy, a complex mixture of technical, technological and organizational measures.

This includes, e.g., a reduction of the extent of control technologies, based on exact, extensive analyses regarding the reliability of the work of systems and installations of aircraft technology and its influence on flight safety, as well as the experiences and knowledge gained by our Soviet comrades-in-arms over many years; it also includes making optimal use of the logistics system and of the shift system. Connected with this is our goal of fulfilling a maximum of flight time with a flight preparation within the period of validity and of minimizing the time spent on controls, error detection and repairs through additional training of personnel.

New considerations to acquire more of the devices, blocks and aggregates with built-in controls, partially eliminating the need for extensive demontage and montage work, will also save time.

[Question] You just referred to knowledge and experience of the Soviet Air Force. How do our relations with our comrades-in-arms contribute?

[Answer] The proven principle: "To learn from the Soviet Union means to learn how to conquer" applies also to the combat training of engineers and technicians. We work especially closely with our partners of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the representatives of the manufacturers. This friendship has proved itself year after year.

Our Soviet comrades-in-arms are highly experienced in all areas of the engineering service and we find time and again that we achieve the greatest successes wherever we take these experiences and their high standards into consideration in our daily work.

The extent of help given to us is great. It consists of the brotherly exchange of ideas and experiences when preparing for the introduction of new technology, the transmittal of user experiences, the support through testing devices when our own installations and systems break down, and joint error detection. All these measures strengthen our solid position regarding our Soviet comrades-in-arms and in class.

[Question] What new military-economic problems do you face today?

[Answer] That is a very important question which was also widely discussed at the third session of the Central Committee. We must reduce the consumption of energy, raw materials and supplies in order to assure fully our party's strategy for the 1980's.

Economizing on materials is an expression of the socialist way of thinking and acting. Economizing as much as possible in the military can therefore not be viewed as a temporary measure or as the pursuit of individual commanders and specialists, but rather it requires the continuous active cooperation of all.

Most important is saving on fuel and lubricants. This is achieved by, among other things, reducing the time machines run to the minimum possible, by using machines that use less fuel, or through a change-over to electrical machines, by streamlining transport to reduce kilometers, and by preventing leakages. In general, lubricants are to be used for as long as possible before being changed.

Additionally, the machinery is to be used for as long as the manufacturer suggests, and faults of broken down machinery are to be exactly encircled and verified. Instead of exchanging aggregates, devices or entire components, it often suffices to replace individual parts. Even on the regiment level, more repair work is to be done than in the past in order to make equipment ready for use again.

I am also thinking of the most economical use of spare parts and general supplies through periodic checks and repairs and the upkeep of selected parts. The most effective care and maintenance of the technology must be carried out systematically and universally.

Damage and losses of every kind must be prevented at all time. We will succeed in this when all regulations, work protection and safety regulations are strictly observed, errors in operation are prevented and carelessness and routine are avoided. The basis for this is greater military discipline and order, the continuous increase in knowledge and ability--in short, politically conscientious and professional thinking and acting.

[Question] The solution to the problem requires the more extensive use of the creativity of engineers, of all innovators economists. How can this be achieved?

[Answer] The demands, which in the 1980's are also made on the innovators, and military exposition movements, to increase their technical and economic effectiveness and to be even more goal-directed in their use for the strengthening of combat readiness and combat strength of our air force.

The experiences and knowledge of the economists and inventors of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany must be used even more. The potential of innovative work is to be used to become more effective in (1) increasing the effectiveness of combat training and of the Alert Stand-By System, (b) intensifying combat training through the increased development of simulators and training posts with the objective of developing training chains, (3) increasing the reclaiming of individual parts and components. This demand is not only made on the field repair centers, but all reservist training combines of the air force as well.

These are new, higher demands on our innovators, on all members of the Flight Engineering Service. If we combine these with greater use of microelectronic components and more energy-efficient methods, then we will successfully master the economic strategy of the 1980's.

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTATOR EVALUATES NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Piotr Rządca: "Inventiveness and Fervor for the Country's Rebirth"]

[Text] They did not coquet the young people. They spoke about their demands and needs, but they also evaluated, fairly and objectively, the party's expectations of them. They did not promise them what they could not deliver. Only those decisions were made that could alleviate the situation, for such are the economic realities. No prospects were revealed that are not realizable within an approachable time frame. They spoke, however, about the fronts of a joint struggle, and about the fact that the crisis must be taken advantage of to make deep reforms to improve the socialist Republic.

The discussions at the plenum covered many subjects. They were critical and self-critical, abundant in concrete proposals and solutions. This was talk about the party's program for the young generation, its actual role in the life of the country, and about the opportunities that the process of socioeconomic transformations, begun by the decisions of the PZPR Ninth Congress, create for this generation.

It will take time to carefully analyze the substance of the Political Bureau's report, the two-day discussion, and the resolution which we are publishing today. This time is needed in order to consider the rich achievement of the plenum and to draw from it all of the concrete proposals for activity, for what is important here is not an action or a campaign but systematic party work with young people.

The plenum's deliberations were preceded by a broad discussion within the party itself, in various social circles, and among the most active part of the young people. This made it possible to accumulate a valuable stock of considerations and proposals, to define the position and direction of activity, to become aware of the aspirations of the young generation and the possibilities of really satisfying it, and it also made it possible to point out what is specifically expected of it. At the same time, there appeared the first initiatives of the young people in matters not only related to living necessities but also assisting in the solving of broader social needs. It may thus be presumed that the plenum's resolution will fall on already prepared ground, since it is a synthesis of viewpoints and proposals of the broad circles of people who are going to implement it.

The achievement of the Ninth Plenum, certainly is the objective evaluation of the young people's mental state and attitudes. The reasons for the frustration of ideological viewpoints, the passivity, the susceptibility to anti-socialist slogans, and the socially unacceptable behavior were revealed. This was perceived in the negative events of sociopolitical life in the past years, in the mistakes made by the party and the authorities, in the inadequacies of the educational work of the family, school, workplaces, and in the weaknesses of the youth movement. The political opposition wanted to use the pro-socialist orientation of the youth, the most active but immature and politically inexperienced youth, against socialism.

An objective, comprehensive analysis of the attitudes of the young people closes the discussion on this subject, and casts aside any extremely laudatory or extremely negative opinions. But above all, it made it possible to outline, during the course of the Ninth Plenum deliberations, a conception of ideological-upbringing work. At the base of this conception lies the party's conviction that the deciding factor shaping the attitudes and viewpoints of the young people is their active participation in the country's life and in the transformations that have been begun. And this is the most valuable advantage of this conception, since education--in the school, in the workplace, or in the youth organization--will not be restricted to verbal teaching of the young, what they should be, but that it will point out to them a specific role in the life of the country, and fields of creative activity, by which they will shape their viewpoints and attitudes on life.

The Ninth Plenum showed the young generation all of today's fronts of struggle and transformation, what we are striving for, what we want to change, which shortcomings must be overcome. It showed concretely what the party is for and what it is against, exactly as the young people categorize this in wanting to know that is worth fighting for in life and what against. This is a program of changes and creation, rejection and construction, denial and affirmation. A struggle with the opponents of socialism for socialist renewal, a struggle for social justice, against all of those who rule it out. A struggle for reforms which will improve our life, against a state of rut, against conservatism and incompetence. Such slogans and goals are particularly far-reaching among the young people, who by their very nature are interested in change and progress.

Thus this is a program of common desires, joint struggle and changes in which the young people are also interested. And so it will surely be accepted by the young when they become more familiar with the position of the Ninth Plenum.

The Ninth Plenum also made decisions which make it really possible for the young people to effectively express their interests, desires and aspirations through youth organizations. They are to obtain the appropriate authority to share in the making of all decisions pertaining to the young people, in the control of the implementation of decisions related to the life and matters of the young, in the initiating of laws. It may be said, therefore, that actual conditions are being created for the voice of the young people to be heard, perceived, and taken into account. This is one of the successive proofs that the young people are being treated as a partner in all which concerns the country's present and future. This may contribute to releasing the creative activity of the young, to broader interest in the country's problems and a desire to participate in their solution.

At the same time it must be said that by this the co-responsibility of the young people themselves grows, the co-responsibility for everything that is taking place around them and among them. This is a joint responsibility interpreted in political terms. In obtaining broader authority and wider influence on the state's affairs, they will have to exhibit maturity, a sense of responsibility and realism, their own inventiveness and initiative. In speaking out at the discussions, the members of the Central Committee frequently stressed that the young have this maturity and will not disappoint the expectations.

The members of the youth organizations will probably receive the decisions of the plenum with satisfaction. Their most important demands were recognized by the party to be proper and justified, and their activity thus far was fairly evaluated. The Ninth Plenum decisions also observe new, complying with Leninist principles, standards of cooperation between the party and the youth movement, giving this movement an opportunity to be independent and responsible for what it does. They will read in the plenum's documents what the party counts on from them, how much it expects, particularly on the question of obtaining from all the young people active acceptance of the Ninth Congress' program, and support for the changes that are now being made.

The Ninth Plenum concerned itself with problems relating to the young generation, but its decisions have a far greater importance and will surely be so received by public opinion.

In the Plenum's decisions we can see the consistent continuation of the party's Ninth Congress' resolutions--made a year ago--the line of national accord and social reform, the striving for democratization of social life, the efforts to overcome the economic crisis, the attempts to observe the standards of social justice. Now the party has turned to the younger portion of society, on whose efforts and work a great deal depends, but all of the subjects raised at the plenum must interest and concern everyone, since actually they pertain to everyone.

The plenum has ended and now the time has come to consistently put the words into deeds, so as to convert the decisions made into concrete performance decisions, into programs of the daily work of the all party elements and all elements of authority. That is what the young people are anticipating, those who want the plenum's position to be fully implemented in their schools, colleges, villages and workplaces. This will have a decisive influence on restoring the ties between the party and the young generation.

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RELIGION, GERMAN AMBITION CITED AS FACTORS IN YOUTH UNREST

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 23, 18 Jul 82 p5

[Article by Waldemar Budzilo: "It Is We Who Create the Scenario" abridged by the editors]

[Text] The recent street demonstrations, in which employed youth and students, most of them unaware of the purposes of the demonstrations, have been taking part, have been causing teachers and educators a great deal of concern, unrest, and disappointment. It is true that a relatively small proportion of them are involved, but this nonetheless is a sign that part of the work of educators has been for nothing, that people alien to us educators are trying to draw young people into their political rows directed right against the state.

Those people trying to guide the behavior of young people are aware that the motivation for their actions may be emotional states which have built up. Young people are easily provoked to emotional behavior. It is especially determined groups whose hopes have miscarried that are subject to all sorts of appeals for aggressive behavior. This purpose is furthered by all sorts of slogans that are oversimplified and appeal to the senses rather than to reason, such as: "They killed a pregnant woman," "They tortured him to death." Youth is very sensitive to human injustice, and those most often leading them (which means more than manipulating them) avail themselves of information both that is true, properly served up to suit them, and that is, above all, false, dreamed up.

Emotional Behavior

This behavior of young people depends to a great extent on the extent to which they have adopted and accepted certain social standards. The more negative young people's relation to these norms is, the more willingly they violate these norms by their behavior. It is just those people who are trying to exploit youth and use them for antistate and antisocialist activity who realize that they must shape a negative relationship to social standards in youth, raising the right to anarchic freedom to the rank of a basic principle.

The steering of young people in the direction of revolt and aggression can only be effective when a suitable atmosphere has been created. It is created not only by groups of peers but also by people who count in youth circles: teachers, educators, priests, and parents.

Responsibility for Behavior

In most cases adults are responsible for the behavior of young people. They get their models for how they behave from the reality around them and information given them by adults. The strikes and demonstrations of the 16 months before the declaration of martial law did not fail to have an influence on young people's minds. Irresponsibility and lack of social discipline are charges not only against young people but against all those who did not properly carry out the functions entrusted them for taking care of youth.

In guiding the behavior of youth they realize that the authorities cannot apply very drastic measures against young people. They are counting on the fact that gentle treatment of demonstrations and riots will encourage larger groups of young people to follow the example of their peers. Father Drzewiecki at the Wroclaw Cathedral instigated people to demonstrate by giving information about the dispersal of demonstrating youth. The information itself would perhaps not have provided such a result without the appropriate intonation and commentary.

People responsible for riots and unrest created by youth remain concealed and when charged with provoking some incident or another they explain it away as the result of young people's spontaneous reaction. Something can be spontaneous, if it is evoked by an unexpected, unforeseen event, but if somebody appeals to young people to assemble in a given place for a specific purpose, like a demonstration against martial law in Poland, he realizes what sort of results may occur and foresees them, even preparing for them.

Young people going to various sorts of designated points of meeting or assembly initially are merely anxious to satisfy their curiosity. They simply want to be an eye-witness of what is going on. But the people guiding the course of street demonstrations have organizers of various alternatives for the development of the situation. There will be possibly those who will pray and those who are to start throwing rocks, those who are to yell and those who will wave banners. Hence, the demonstrations are more or less prepared for all sorts of eventualities, and each one is considered successful. Young people have been peaceful. Therefore there is a common opinion that there was no intention of provocation. When there are scuffles, youth's uncompromising attitude is praised.

Those who decided to draw young people into the political struggle realized themselves that they had lost the attempt at confrontation in the struggle for power in Poland. They had also lost the battle for a general strike, or a labor boycott among the workers. Therefore, all

Religious feelings play an important role in mobilizing youth to various incidents, because the principles of faith are not subject to a critical assessment and are hence not subject to rational thinking.

The person of the Polish pope is currently playing an important role in structuring young people's feelings. This is a success eagerly counterposed to the crisis, caused by the "communist governments" in Poland. In the hands of people fervent with feelings inimical to socialism, religion has become an important instrument of influence, particularly since the principles of social behavior are to a great extent shaped by the catechists. Young people receive information about what is to be discouraged and what is commendable in the attitudes of the various communities and groups, in their religion lessons.

Young people, who the group of home-grown and foreign trouble-makers are trying to lead are largely socially undisciplined. During the riots in Wroclaw on 13 Jun 1982 the participants attacked the forces of law and order with rocks, bottles, and other life-threatening objects and did not listen to the orders to disperse.

Lack of Discipline

The lack of discipline is coupled with a lack of responsibility. When he throws rocks from several floors up, the pupil is not considering that he may fatally injure not only an innocent bystander but also, for example, one of his peers. He does not realize that he is acting like a murderer.

Young people who are growing up after all want to experience something new and attractive. For this reason they eagerly submit to the urgings of their older experienced colleagues and create a peer group in which various thoughts of great adventure, "fun," and "romps" start to circulate. Often this adventure is tied in with following the bad habits of older generations: smoking cigarets, drinking, sexual encounters, and drugs. The call to take part in street demonstrations against the forces of law and order has the nature of adventure and a certain time of amusement. Despite the dangerousness of the situation, for many pupils, running from the police and taunting them with words of abuse are not products of rational motivation but of the desire for amusement: "Let's see if you can catch me."

In their plans and in their dreams young people have many lofty ideals, but they do not realize that certain external and internal conditions are required, that discipline is necessary, to put it in general terms. And among young people rather frequently there is a lack of self-criticism. And these two phenomena together, on the one hand the expectations and on the other the actual possibilities, create a state of frustration and disillusionment in some of them. The frustration is probably most often the factor which creates the atmosphere of aggression and revolt. "If the world isn't the way I want it, it should be destroyed."

that the antisocialist forces had left in reserve were young people and religious sentiment. People who try to direct youth against the socialist state are to be found both inside the country and abroad. They do not link their activity in a clear way with the anticommunist crusade organized by Reagan, in which the Germans were to assume an honored place, making clear demands of the Poles. It is therefore distressing that it is actually the young residents of towns like Szczecin, Gdansk, and Wroclaw who have been so subject to antisocialist propaganda, not realizing who is being served or who is providing the support.

No Secret

Serious reporters in the West wrote about how "Solidarity" is being infiltrated by foreign intelligence of the most anti-Soviet hue. People who are encouraging youth to antisocialist action are conscious or unconscious propagators of German domination in a future Europe following the [supposed] overthrow of "Communism." Then Poland will be on the fringe of world politics. Those who are inciting youth to take part in the anticommunist crusade must realize that they are acting against the interests of the Polish nation.

Of course, not all young people support the position taken by the demonstrators. Most of them realize the harmfulness of them. The most "radical groups" are largely young people from broken homes or from families in which there is an aggressively anticommunist atmosphere. Their own failure in life and that of those closest to them often make them more subject to antisocialist propaganda, to the statement: "Communism" is to blame for everything. This statement can easily be used to explain everything.

A large group among the demonstrators consists of college students, who are often the brains behind the demonstrations. As experienced, "educated" people, they have the ear of secondary-school pupils. To a great extent, those taking part in the demonstrations are those young people who do not have adequate adult supervision from people responsible for raising them, like parents, boarding-school housemothers, and people involved in taking care of student groups.

Fixing Up Mistakes Made in Bringing Up Youth

It is not easy to fix up the mistakes. A basic role in this area can be played by a realistic program approved by youth for meeting social needs and demands. This must be a program of hope, and not accusations of the sins of the parents. First of all, however, it must be understood by young people and carried out by them in that area which depends on them. Young people must realize that living conditions depend on their participation in structuring them, on their responsibility for the future shape of Poland.

But for such a program to be accepted and carried out by young people, they must be given care. There has to be a daily dialog with them. The educators must know how to make a distinction between those who have become involved in antisocialist agitation and propaganda networks and those who have become so inimical to the socialist state that longer, more careful work is needed to bring them back to their senses and to a real view of the future. Disturbed in their relationships and upset in themselves, at odds with their surroundings, they will not be capable of achieving anything in life. They can easily find themselves on the fringes of life. Care must also be taken to see that young people understand the basic fact that their presence in beautiful, rich Western lands depends on Poland's membership in the socialist camp, and that every change militating against that camp is mainly a bolstering of Germany's position in Europe and hence its revisionist aspirations.

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